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NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION
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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

FIFTEENTH ANNUAL SESSION

OF THE

State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina

RALEIGH
DECEMBER 1-2, 1914

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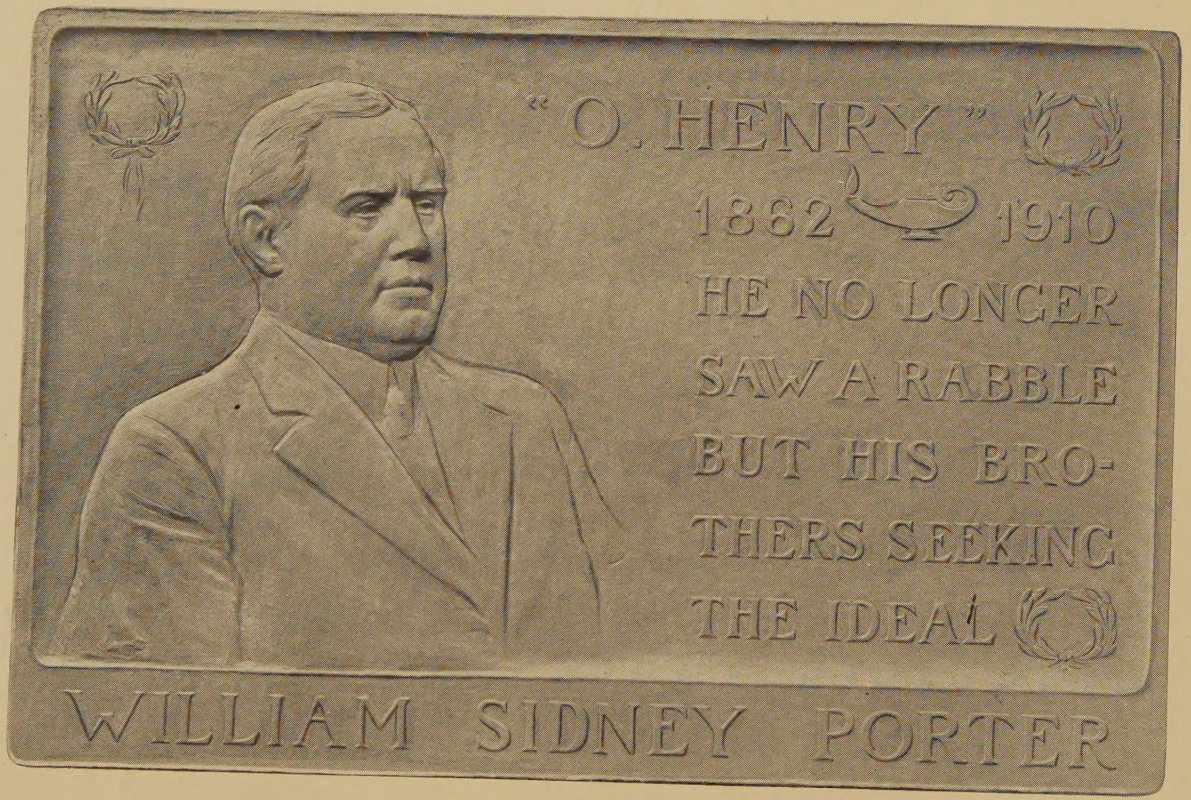
"O. HENRY"
1882 1910
HE NO LONGER
SAW A RABBLE
BUT HIS BRO-
THERS SEEKING
THE IDEAL
WILLIAM SIDNEY PORTER

PROCEEDINGS *and* ADDRESSES

OF THE

FIFTEENTH ANNUAL SESSION

OF THE

State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina

RALEIGH
December 1-2, 1914

Compiled by
R. D. W. CONNOR
Secretary

RALEIGH
EDWARDS & BROUGHTON PRINTING CO.
STATE PRINTERS
1915

The North Carolina Historical Commission

J. Bryan Grimes, *Chairman*, Raleigh.

W. J. Peele, Raleigh.
M. C. S. Noble, Chapel Hill.
Thomas M. Pittman, Henderson.
D. H. Hill, Raleigh.

R. D. W. Connor, *Secretary*, Raleigh.

Officers of the State Literary and Historical Association

1914.

President .....Archibald Henderson, Chapel Hill.
First Vice-President.....Miss Mary Shannon Smith, Raleigh.
Second Vice-President.....Frank Nash, Hillsboro.
Third Vice-President.....W. B. McKoy, Wilmington.
Secretary-Treasurer .....R. D. W. Connor, Raleigh.

Executive Committee.

W. K. Boyd, Durham. Clarence Poe, Raleigh.
James F. Royster, Chapel Hill. Maurice G. Fulton, Davidson.
Mrs. Margaret Busbee Shipp, Raleigh.

1915.

President .....Clarence Poe, Raleigh.
First Vice-President.....Miss Minnie W. Leatherman, Raleigh.
Second Vice-President.....J. G. de R. Hamilton, Chapel Hill.
Third Vice-President.....S. A. Ashe, Raleigh, N. C.
Secretary-Treasurer .....R. D. W. Connor, Raleigh.

Executive Committee.

John F. Bruton, Wilson. Howard Rondthaler, Winston-Salem.
A. W. McLean, Lumberton. T. M. Pittman, Henderson.
J. L. Chambers, Charlotte.

PURPOSES OF THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

"The collection, preservation, production, and dissemination of our State literature and history;

"The encouragement of public and school libraries;

"The establishment of an historical museum;

"The inculcation of a literary spirit among our people;

"The correction of printed misrepresentations concerning North Carolina; and—

"The engendering of an intelligent, healthy State pride in the rising generations."

ELIGIBILITY TO MEMBERSHIP—MEMBERSHIP DUES.

All persons interested in its purposes are invited to become members of the Association. There are two classes of members: "Regular Members," paying one dollar a year, and "Sustaining Members," paying five dollars a year.

RECORD OF THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

(Organized October, 1900.)

Fiscal Years.	*Presidents.*	*Secretaries.*	*Paid up Membership.*
1900-1901	Walter Clark	Alex. J. Feild	150
1901-1902	Henry G. Connor	Alex. J. Feild	139
1902-1903	W. L. Poteat	George S. Fraps	73
1903-1904	C. Alphonso Smith	Clarence Poe	127
1904-1905	Robert W. Winston	Clarence Poe	109
1905-1906	Charles B. Aycock	Clarence Poe	185
1906-1907	W. D. Pruden	Clarence Poe	301
1907-1908	Robert Bingham	Clarence Poe	273
1908-1909	Junius Davis	Clarence Poe	311
1909-1910	Platt D. Walker	Clarence Poe	440
1910-1911	Edward K. Graham	Clarence Poe	425
1911-1912	R. D. W. Connor	Clarence Poe	479
1912-1913	W. P. Few	R. D. W. Connor	476
1913-1914	Archibald Henderson	R. D. W. Connor	435

AWARDS OF THE PATTERSON MEMORIAL CUP.

1905—John Charles McNeill, for poems later reprinted in book form as "Songs, Merry and Sad." (Presentation by Theodore Roosevelt.)

1906—Edwin Mims, for "Life of Sidney Lanier." (Presentation by Fabius H. Busbee.)

1907—Kemp Plummer Battle, for "History of the University of North Carolina." (Presentation by Francis D. Winston.)

1908—Samuel A'Court Ashe, for "History of North Carolina." (Presentation by Thomas Nelson Page.)

1909—Clarence Poe, for "A Southerner in Europe." (Presentation by Ambassador James Bryce.)

1910—R. D. W. Connor, for "Cornelius Harnett: An Essay in North Carolina History." (Presentation by T. W. Bickett.)

1911—Archibald Henderson, for "George Bernard Shaw: His Life and Works." (Presentation by Lee S. Overman.)

1912—Clarence Poe, for "Where Half the World is Waking Up." (Presentation by Walter H. Page.)

1913—Horace Kephart, for "Our Southern Highlanders." (Presentation by Maurice G. Fulton.)

1914—J. G. de R. Hamilton, for "Reconstruction in North Carolina." Presentation by W. K. Boyd.)

WHAT THE ASSOCIATION HAS ACCOMPLISHED FOR THE STATE—SUCCESSFUL MOVEMENTS INAUGURATED BY IT.

1. Rural libraries.
2. "North Carolina Day" in the schools.
3. The North Carolina Historical Commission.
4. Vance statue in Statuary Hall (to be erected soon).
5. Fire-proof State Library Building and Hall of Records.
6. Civil War battlefields marked to show North Carolina's record.
7. North Carolina's war record defended and war claims vindicated.
8. The Patterson Memorial Cup.
9. Lecture Extension Work started in leading cities and towns.
10. A program of Library Extension Work begun.

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MINUTES

Proceedings and Addresses of the Fifteenth Annual Session of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina

RALEIGH, DECEMBER 1-2, 1914

Tuesday, December 1—Afternoon Session.

The Fifteenth Annual Session of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina was called to order in the Hall of the House of Representatives, Tuesday afternoon, December 1, 1914, at 3:30 o'clock, with President Henderson in the chair. President Henderson, after brief opening remarks, announced that the program for the afternoon session was a Conference on County History. The program as carried out was as follows:

1. Opening Address, by Archibald Henderson.
2. "A New Type of County History," by W. K. Boyd.
3. "The Vital Study of the County," by E. C. Branson.
4. "How to Secure the Writing of County Histories." Discussions by W. C. Jackson, Miss Adelaide Fries, and T. M. Pittman.

At the conclusion of these papers there was a general discussion in which several members participated.

Hon. Francis D. Winston thereupon offered the following resolutions which, after debate, were adopted:

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed by the President of this Association to memorialize the General Assembly at its coming session to make an annual appropriation of not less than $2,500, to be expended under the direction of the North Carolina Historical Commission in the work of advising with municipal and county officials relative to the proper care, arrangement and preservation of the public archives and records in their charge, and of making such records and archives accessible for historical purposes.

Resolved, That the Executive Committee take immediate steps to organize County Historical Societies, and that they enlist the coöperation of the Department of History in the University and in the colleges of the State in arranging a plan for securing a history of each county in North Carolina.

Tuesday, December 1—Evening Session.

The session was called to order by President Henderson at 8 o'clock in the auditorium of Meredith College. President Henderson delivered his inaugural address on "The New North State," at the conclusion of

which he presented Governor Craig, who introduced the next speaker as follows:

We have the honor this evening of having as our guest a statesman who, though young in years, has made a world-impression in history. He is a thinker and a scholar. He has done great things for his country, and I hope that he may continue to guide his great nation. He has not only rendered great service to his own people, but he has rendered great service to this nation which entitles him to our everlasting gratitude, for he was one of the arbitrators which kept this nation at peace with Mexico and at peace with all.

He comes from the greatest nation that has ever existed in South America. In this hemisphere there are two great republics, one on the Northern continent and one on the Southern. His nation stands among the foremost for peace, progress, and civilization.

The destiny of the United States and South America is indissoluble. The friendly relations between the republics of North and South America not only means the finest of commercial advantage, but it means the finest development that has come to the human race. The day is coming when the Latin people of the South and the Anglo-Saxon of the North will realize that their destiny is one to be worked out in brotherhood between these countries.

The distinguished statesman is the foremost representative of the Latin republics. I have the honor of presenting the Ambassador of the greatest Southern republic to the greatest Northern republic.

The topic of Ambassador Naon's address was "Some Argentine Ideas." At the conclusion of Dr. Naon's address he was unanimously elected an honorary member of the Literary and Historical Association.

President Henderson then presented Dr. W. K. Boyd who had been selected to announce the award of the William Houston Patterson Memorial Cup for 1914, saying:

The feature which concludes our program this evening has come to be a classic event in the North Carolina year. This is the award of the William Houston Patterson Memorial Cup, the beautifully conceived memorial in honor of her father, by Mrs. J. Lindsay Patterson, of Winston-Salem.

In past years, the award of this cup has called national attention to the works of literature being produced in the State of North Carolina. This cup is awarded each year to that resident of the State who, during the twelve months from September 1st of the previous year to September 1st of the year of the award, has displayed, either in prose or poetry, without regard to its length, the greatest excellence and the highest literary skill and genius. I take pleasure in calling upon the distinguished historical student, Dr. William K. Boyd, of Trinity College, who, as representative of the Committee will make the announcement of the award.

In announcing the award Dr. Boyd said:

Mr. President, Ladies, and Gentlemen:

Every man of letters in North Carolina who makes local conditions the subject of his art is in a double sense a benefactor; first, for consecrating his gifts to immortalizing Tar Heeldom; second, for carrying out his work

under the adverse conditions referred to in the presidential address. Therefore the half dozen authors who have in the past year written books about North Carolina deserve the laurels of patriots, and on behalf of the Patterson Memorial Cup Committee and the Literary and Historical Association I wish to express our appreciation of their efforts.

Under the adverse conditions referred to by the President, it was indeed gracious of Mrs. Patterson to establish the Patterson Memorial Cup. Her patronage insures a careful examination of all books written by residents of the State and publicity to at least one of them.

Before announcing the award, may I relate a bit of academic history? Higher education in the United States has been revolutionized since the year 1870. Professional schools of arts and sciences have been organized and large universities have come into existence. About the year 1875 an old aristocratic college in the city of New York felt the new impulse. It established a chair of Political Science and Constitutional Law. To fill it was called a man who was Southern by birth, but who had received his collegiate education in New England and his professional training in Germany. He brought to this country those conceptions of the State and of sovereignty which characterize the political science of modern Germany. According to his theories sovereignty in the United States has always been in the people; the nation is older than the States, and manifestations of State rights sentiments in our history have been entirely without constitutional warrant. A more national interpretation of our history can hardly be conceived.

After a few years a young man from New Jersey applied at the college for a higher degree. His essay was on the Constitution during the Civil War and Reconstruction. In it he maintained that during the conflict the Constitution was not only violated by executive and legislative measures, but that it was superseded by war powers, and that during Reconstruction certain principles of constitutional law were also ignored. In other words, in establishing nationality, its written charter was violated. There was a memorable examination; the Dean found fault, and even demanded that a new edition of the essay be published with corrections. The man from New Jersey stood his ground, and won the day.

For there was academic liberty in the institution. A few years later that student was called to his *alma mater* to teach political theory, then history. As the institution grew into a great university he offered graduate instruction in the period of the Civil War and Reconstruction. This was about the time that the sons of those who fought in the gray line and the blue were arriving at maturity. A number of them were attracted by the new field of historical investigation opened up. Two results followed. One was that the history department of Columbia became a clearing house for men of opposite persuasions, a twilight zone in which the most ultra-nationalists and the most unreconstructed rebels found a mutual human interest and sympathy. The other result has been the publication of a series of volumes on the Reconstruction Period in the South; a history of Reconstruction in Mississippi, one of Georgia during the period, and similar studies of Alabama, Texas, and Florida. These are not essays but stout volumes. They make the largest contribution to any one period of Southern history.

Thirteen years ago there joined the Columbia group a graduate of the University of the South, with tar on his heels. After the first year he began the

investigation of his native State during the Reconstruction period. For twelve years he has given his best efforts to the task and last summer he published his results entitled, "Reconstruction in North Carolina." His work is notable for the following qualities:

In point of style it is equaled in our historical literature only by the work of Dr. Hawks, who wrote prior to the war. In selection and organization of material it is modern in tone, combining the topical and the chronological methods. It is also a contribution to national as well as State history, for it treats of constitutional, economic, and political movements that were not confined to North Carolina. His volume also belongs to a notable series, the "Columbia University Studies in Economics, History, and Public Law."

And now, as the author is too Roman in his modesty to appear on this stage, I announce that the Patterson Cup this year is awarded to Dr. J. G. de R. Hamilton for his excellent book, "Reconstruction in North Carolina."

The President then declared the meeting adjourned.

Following the regular session the members of the Association and their guests were tendered a reception in the parlors of Meredith College, by the Woman's Club of Raleigh.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 2—MORNING SESSION.

The session was called to order in the Hall of the House of Representatives by President Henderson, at ten o'clock. The President announced that the subject of the program for this session was "North Carolina Literature." Papers were read on the following subjects:

1. "Projected History of North Carolina Literature," by Archibald Henderson.
2. "Henry Jerome Stockard; An Appreciation," by J. Y. Joyner.
3. "North Carolina Historical Writings," by Stephen B. Weeks.
4. "North Carolina Fiction," by Thomas P. Harrison.
5. "North Carolina Ballads," by Frank C. Brown.
6. "North Carolina Poetry," by Ernest Starr.

Dr. Maurice G. Fulton announced that Dr. J. M. McConnell, who had prepared a paper on "North Carolina Oratory," had been unavoidably prevented from attending the meeting, and moved that Dr. McConnell's paper be published in the Proceedings. The motion was carried.

President Henderson then presented several gifts to the Association. His address in making these presentations has been printed elsewhere in the Proceedings.

At the conclusion of President Henderson's address the following resolutions were offered and unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina extend, through the Secretary, grateful thanks in token of their

appreciation of the following gifts of literary memorials to the Hall of History:

1. To Mrs. Henry Jerome Stockard for the autograph poem, signed, by the late Henry Jerome Stockard, it being the poem dedicated to the Women of the Confederacy;

2. To Mr. W. L. McNeill, of Wagram, N. C., for the autograph poem, "Told On," of his brother, John Charles McNeill;

3. To Mrs. William Sidney Porter, for the portrait of William Sidney Porter.

4. To Mr. Arthur W. Page, Editor of *The World's Work*, for some sheets of the original manuscript of one of O. Henry's stories.

5. To Miss Van Vleck, of Winston-Salem, for a letter, and to Miss Marshall for an autograph poem, of John Henry Boner.

6. To the Misses Margaret J. and Martha A. Steele, of Carlisle, for the letters of Elizabeth Maxwell Steele.

Whereas, The North Carolina Library Commission has rendered great service to the schools and rural population of the State by the operation of traveling, debate and other package libraries, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the State Literary and Historical Association commend the work of the Library Commission and aid it through its Legislative Committee in securing a larger appropriation for the extension of its service along these lines.

Whereas, The American Peace Conference agreed at its session in Richmond last December that each State should establish some memorial to mark the Century of Peace among the English-speaking peoples under the Treaty of Ghent,

And, Whereas, Sir Walter Raleigh was selected as the most suitable character for this purpose in North Carolina,

Therefore, be it resolved by this Association, That we heartily commend Senator Lee S. Overman for his timely introduction of a bill into the United States Senate, for an appropriation for a statue of Sir Walter Raleigh to be erected in this city; and we will gratefully appreciate his efforts to secure its passage during the coming session of Congress, so that we can, at least, lay the corner-stone in 1915.

And Resolved, That our senior Senator and all Congressmen from North Carolina are hereby requested and urged to support this measure.

Resolved, That this Association heartily endorse Senate Bill No. 2545, introduced into the United States Senate by Senator Overman, it being a bill for the execution of a suitable and creditable painting, depicting the baptism of Virginia Dare, the first known celebration of a Protestant Christian sacrament on American soil; and urge our Senators and Representatives in Congress to support the same.

Whereas, The members of this Association have heard with sincerest sorrow of the illness at his home in Wilson of Hon. F. A. Woodard, who, during the fifteen years of the history of the Literary and Historical Association, has never before been absent from its annual session, and has at all times displayed an earnest, unselfish and wise interest in its work, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Secretary be requested to express to Mr. Woodard our regret at his absence, our sympathy in his illness, and our sincere hopes for the speedy recovery of his health.

Resolved, That the Secretary be requested to extend to the Trustees and Faculty of Meredith College the thanks and appreciation of the State Literary and Historical Association for the use of the auditorium of Meredith College for its evening sessions; and to express to the Woman's Club of Raleigh its appreciation of their courtesy in tendering a reception to its members and guests.

The following reports of the Guilford County Historical Society and of the Randolph Historical Society were then presented to the Association by Mrs. E. E. Moffitt:

GUILFORD COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The Guilford County Historical Association has had no meeting again this year.

Two papers have been prepared and we have received some valuable old letters, also a most interesting banner which was presented to the Greensboro Guards by the ladies of the town in 1839, the presentation being recorded in the *Patriot* of that day.

The Greensboro Public Library, in which the collection of the society is kept, has been most fortunate this year in a gift of four portraits, all eminent citizens of Guilford whose descendants have made this very generous donation to the home of their fathers: Colonel Julius A. Gray, Governor John M. Morehead, Governor Jonathan Worth, and Governor A. M. Scales.

The homes of Governor Morehead and Governor Scales are still standing in Greensboro. Governor Worth's early life was all spent in Guilford, though he was elected Governor from Randolph, where he settled in 1824. These four portraits were unveiled in the library with appropriate exercises on the evening of June 6, 1914.

The banner of 1839 was displayed at the time by the Guilford Historical Association with two other political Greensboro banners of 1840, making an exhibit of especial interest, since all three were used in the memorable campaign of Morehead and Harrison in 1840. The society contemplates a revival of its work during the next year.

RANDOLPH COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

On the 30th of May, 1914, a dozen or more people met in the County Superintendent's office, and organized a society to be known as The Randolph County Historical Society. It elected for its President, Mrs. Numa A. Thornburg, and Hon. W. C. Hammer, Vice-President; T. F. Bulla, Secretary; Miss Linnie Shamburger, Historian, and Mrs. S. L. Hayworth, Treasurer. It was decided at this meeting to meet annually, and discuss historical events relative to Randolph County. A great deal of interest was manifested in this meeting, and the outlook is good for interesting discussions in the future. It was also decided to collect old books, and manuscripts of any nature, and deposit them in a room in the courthouse known as the Historical Room.

So far, we have a membership of over thirty-five, and by strong effort it can be increased considerably. The membership fee is fifty cents.

At the meeting held last May, Dr. F. E. Asbury read a paper on the birthplace of Andrew Jackson. A paper was read prepared by Dr. S. E. Henley before he died, giving at some length the history of the old plank road, built three-quarters of a century ago.

It is our hope to build up a strong society in Randolph County, and we would be glad to coöperate with the State Historical Society. We would be glad to have any suggestions that will aid us in the future.

W. C. Hammer, editor of the *Asheboro Courier*, is collecting data for a future history of the county.

Wednesday, December 2—Evening Session.

The session was called to order at eight o'clock, in the auditorium of Meredith College, by the President who presented Miss Minnie W. Leatherman who read a report of North Carolina Bibliography for the year. At the conclusion of Miss Leatherman's paper President Henderson presented Dr. C. Alphonso Smith in the following words:

Ladies and Gentlemen: We are gathered here tonight to memorialize in deathless bronze a great literary genius of the New North State. In this hour of the sublimation of State pride, of the vast awakening of national consciousness in our commonwealth, an episode typical of this new era is the erection of a national memorial, executed by a great national sculptor, Lorado Taft, in honor of William Sidney Porter, endeared to all North Carolinians, world-renowned, under the *nom-de-guerre* of "O. Henry." In the literary and cultural history of North Carolina the occasion is epochal—for now, for the first time in all our history, have the people of our State united in the patriotic task of honoring, in enduring form at the capital of the commonwealth, native artistic and literary genius. I venture now to express the fervent hope that this event may prove the forerunner of many similar tributes to the artistic and literary genius of our people. May there come to us, as the years flee forward, a communal consciousness that culture must march hand in hand with agriculture, art with industry, literature with science in the perfected civilization of the future.

There is something finely and touchingly apposite in this ceremony here tonight. This memorial is to be accepted in behalf of the State by her chief executive, a citizen of the very town and county, Asheville and Buncombe, where William Sidney Porter sleeps forever in the cool, enfolding arms of death. And the genius of "O. Henry" is to be celebrated by a fellow native of the very town and county of his own nativity, Greensboro and Guilford.

I rejoice in the opportunity to present to you a great son of North Carolina, distinguished man of letters,—a scholar who as academic ambassador has borne the message of American culture to the great German empire, the official biographer of O. Henry, the lifelong friend of William Sidney Porter—Charles Alphonso Smith.

At the conclusion of Dr. Smith's address the President called for the report of the Nominating Committee, who reported the following nominations for 1914-15:

President ..... Clarence Poe
First Vice-president ..... Miss Minnie W. Leatherman
Second Vice-president ..... J. G. de R. Hamilton
Third Vice-president ..... S. A. Ashe
Secretary-treasurer ..... R. D. W. Connor

The nominations were confirmed. The session then adjourned to the rooms of the North Carolina Historical Commission, where the exercises in connection with the presentation of the "O. Henry Memorial" were held. The Memorial was presented to the State, in behalf of the State Literary and Historical Association, by President Henderson. At the conclusion of his speech the tablet was unveiled by Miss Margaret Porter, after which it was accepted, in behalf of the State, by Governor Locke Craig.

The President then announced that the session of the Literary and Historical Association for 1914 was adjourned sine die.

After the adjournment the members of the Association attended a reception in the rooms of the North Carolina Historical Commission.

GENERAL SESSION

The New North State

By Archibald Henderson, President of the State Literary and Historical Association, Raleigh, on the Evening of December 1, 1914.

In his notorious "History of the Dividing Line Betwixt Virginia and North Carolina," which was run in the year 1728, the witty William Byrd of Westover hazarded the ironical query: "Considering how fortune delights in bringing great things out of small, who knows but Carolina may, one time or another, come to be the seat of some great empire?" As I glance back over the two tumultuous centuries which have elapsed since Byrd ventured that ironical query, and think of the long, long way we have traveled since that primitive, barren time, I cannot but conclude that William Byrd, all unwittingly, was something more than "the idle singer of an empty day." That "great empire," of which he so ironically spoke—has indeed found its seat in this ancient commonwealth of Carolina. It is in the new time that Carolina has come to be the seat of a great empire of democracy—a democracy of culture and of the human spirit.

In the strange, sad epic of the silent South, North Carolina can justly claim the authority that springs from the motherhood of American liberty. At the very moment when Byrd was running that dividing line betwixt North Carolina and Virginia, the borderers were eager to be included within the bounds of North Carolina, "as there they paid no tribute to God or Cæsar." Those epic ships of Raleigh, sailing westward over unknown seas and beaching at last their keels upon the golden sands of Roanoke, bore in their bosoms a breed of men fired with the divine spark which in that England of the spacious days of Elizabeth flamed up in rugged prose and in soaring, immortal verse. The breed of men who settled here bore in their right hand a genius for civilization and an indomitable pride of race; and in their left hand an inflexible steadfastness and a common sense as firm as adamant. In the struggle for existence which they were compelled to wage, the taming of nature, the conquest of a savage foe, there was bred in them a mighty resourcefulness and the grim hardihood of self-reliance. Our legacy from a century of pioneers is a passion for successful self-expression, for efficiency, and for creative conquest. How shorn of a great measure of distinction and greatness would be this American nation, in its pioneer days and crude beginnings, if bereft of the pioneering genius of

Daniel Boone, the love of liberty of the eloquent William Hooper, the prophetic insight of that herald of culture, William R. Davie, the legal wisdom of James Iredell, the granite conservatism of Nathaniel Macon, the flaming patriotism of Andrew Jackson, the new Americanism of Thomas Hart Benton. How impoverished would be the early annals of our country if there were blotted out the memory of Moore's Creek Bridge, of Guilford Court House, of Kings Mountain; of the resistance to the Stamp Act at Wilmington, the patriotism of Mecklenburg, the statesmanship at Halifax, the definitive salvation of the vast trans-Alleghany region by the pioneers of Transylvania. Out of North Carolina, the fountain source of American liberty, welled up the streams of creative contribution which have helped to make this nation great—the inflexible spirit which knows no compromise, the passionate belief in liberty and democracy, and the unchanging faith in the worth and dignity of average humanity.

Midway in her career—a career memorable for national statesmanship, continental thinking and purity of thought in public service—a dark disaster fell upon the South. Following that tragic national crisis, when the South in the dimness of anguish beheld the loss of wealth, the abolition of property, the violation of the very sanctities of her civilization, this people sternly set themselves to the task of repairing those fallen fortunes and rebuilding that civilization upon broader and more universal outlines. In the era since the War between the States the South has achieved a reasonable prosperity distinguished by its universal diffusion, and has devoted its energies to the education of the common man to the tasks of leadership in all the avenues of an advancing civilization.

It was in the earlier grim stages of that era of civilization-rebuilding—the era of the slow emergence of the average man from the pressure of economic necessity and the blight of arrested cultural development—that the South temporarily relaxed her hold upon the reins of national government. Only a decade ago the late Charles B. Aycock—though belying the statement in his own brilliant, tragic career—regretfully acknowledged that at that moment the people of the South "had less effect upon the thought and action of the nation than at any period of our history." At that time it was almost literally true that Southern men wielded but slight influence in the final settlement of the graver problems of our national destiny. The thinking of the South was not an appreciable factor in the councils of the nation. The old aristocracy, with its transcendant leadership of individualism, had passed forever from the national stage; and the new democracy, fumbling with the complex tools of a newer communism, had not yet wrought out completely the figures of national leadership.

The election of Woodrow Wilson and the quindecennial anniversary of Gettysburg marked the transit of an era. "A complete change," as Mr. George Harvey recently said, "involving after many years the restoration to power in large measure of this great section has been effected without causing so much as a ripple of apprehension. Surely it is a fact of mighty significance that the South resumes virtual control of the United States after barely fifty years, without evoking from the most rabid partisan so much as a suspicion of the patriotism or fidelity of any one of her statesmen." Surely it is a fact of almost miraculous fitness that, in this dramatic resumption by the South of the control of our national destinies, North Carolina should play a predominant role. It is with a sense of conscious elation, no less profound that it is subdued, that we, the citizens of this ancient commonwealth, reflect that American history can furnish no authentic parallel to the present epochal contribution of North Carolina to the life of the nation. In this great era of national responsibility and national peril the country breathes in safety with Josephus Daniels maintaining North Carolina's great traditions in the navy established by Branch, Badger, Graham, and Dobbin; with Houston setting new standards of business efficiency and practical statesmanship for national agriculture; with Simmons the leader of a Senate; Kitchin the destined floor-leader of the House; and native and adopted sons like Claxton and Holmes and Osborn effectively ministering to the educational, industrial, and financial needs of a nation. In this, North Carolina's hour—the reward of traditional fidelity to principle in public life, of enlarging social sympathy, and of invincible faith in democracy—there seems to operate a noble species of compensatory justice. The nation once more turns for guidance to the venerable commonwealth of North Carolina, and to the South, the ancient mother of national leadership.

Do you then realize that this, the age in which we live—*today*—heralds the golden age of North Carolina and the South? As we stand upon the threshold of this new era, there must come to all of us a sense of joyous elation, a leaping of the blood, that it is given to us to live at such a time and in such a country. While our sister republic of Mexico is racked with the dire dissensions of civil strife, which the unselfish devotions of this nation have watchfully and patiently sought to allay; while Europe is a cosmic holocaust of flame and blood and steel; while the commerce of belligerent nations is suffering from partial paralysis and the voice of famine utters to our heeding ears its grim and tragic petition—America stands firm for peace, for progress, for civilization, for humanity. Supreme engineering genius has cleft in twain giant Culebra and recalcitrant Panama; and today the lock gates at Gatun,

Pedro Miguel, and Miraflores hospitably fling wide the giant portals of the isthmus to the argosies of commerce, to the trade of the South, the nation, and the world. As President Wilson said in his memorable address at Mobile: "I wonder if you realize, I wonder if your imaginations have been filled with the significance of the tides of commerce. These great tides which have been running along parallels of latitude will now swing Southward athwart parallels of longitude, and that opening gate of the Isthmus of Panama will open to the world a commerce she has never known before—a commerce of intelligence, of thought and sympathy between North and South, and the Latin-American States which, to their disadvantage, have been cut off the main lines will now be *on* the main lines." The section sure to receive the greatest development as the result of the opening of the canal is the section east of the Rocky Mountains. The steamer which leaves the South Atlantic seaboard or a gulf port will steer a straight course from the Panama Canal to all of the countries on the west coast of South America. The saving in time, distance, and cost of transportation assures a vastly stimulated commerce and the interchange of all commodities between the South and the countries on the Western and Southern coasts of South America. A happy augury of the increasing reciprocal friendliness and expanding intercommunication of trade between North and South America is the presence of our honored guest of this evening, his Excellency, Romulo S. Naon, the Ambassador of the great republic of Argentina.

The South is America's present land of promise. Here upon our own soil will be undertaken the next supreme experiment in the life of the nation. This will be the scene of the next great act in the American drama of industrial expansion. The thought which gives me comfort, when I reflect upon the future of the South, is the consciousness that in this era of expanding wealth and a pervasive industrialism, the Southern people still tenaciously hold to those high yet simple realities which, throughout our history, have won the confidence and the faith of a nation.

In the hearts of all of us, I dare say, there is a deep, abiding affection and reverence for the virtues of a people who, throughout an historic past, have given to North Carolina the rich, mellow name of the Old North State. I sense those ancient virtues as a fragrant breath from some distant garden of old-fashioned flowers—a full-blooded parochialism redeemed by the abiding love of Christian faith, of family, of fireside; an inflexible integrity which put love of the truth and passion for the making of men above love of place and passion for the making of money; a rugged provincialism which had its roots firmly fixed in a love of naturalness and a scorn for all pretense; a granite

conservatism which cherished tradition and ever looked with stern disfavor upon the new and the empiric. This is the *Old* North State—always fighting for her rights while neglecting her interests; generous, reckless, romantic, improvident, unpretentious, chivalrous, brave. In our hearts is enshrined the figure of this most venerable, this most American of all the sisterhood of American commonwealths—the unpretentious, homespun, yet infinitely lovable Rip Van Winkle of the States.

Tonight, my friends, I give you the *New* North State. From out our past have come the old Roman virtues; into our future shall go the new American virtues of the new age—an enlarged communal consciousness; a deeper sense of local pride which expresses itself, not in voicing a glorification of the past, but in putting the shoulder hard to the wheel of civic progress; a strenuous common effort for the attainment of a new freedom, individual, political, and social—for *women* as well as for men; and a passionate, a relentless eagerness for the building of a new and higher civilization. We are meeting within the very week—simply eloquent in its title, *Community-service Week*—a type of the seven labors of the new Hercules of an aroused civic consciousness—the prophetic vision of that splendid type of the new social publicist, Edward K. Graham; aided by the practical wisdom of an agricultural sociologist, the popular leader, Clarence Poe; and happily legislated into permanence through the fiat of a progressive, forward-looking Governor, Locke Craig. Only a few weeks ago patriotic, liberty-loving women of North Carolina appropriately met in the precincts of Mecklenburg to write the political charter of a new declaration of independence. Out of the fullness of our new life here have gone to other nations the heralds of American culture. The first Southern scholar selected to go as Roosevelt Professor, as academic ambassador of culture, to the German nation, is the distinguished orator of tomorrow night, Charles Alphonso Smith; and when President Wilson needed a man big enough for the biggest diplomatic post in the country's gift, he called upon a great publisher and the editor of our most distinctively national magazine, Walter H. Page, who is now enjoying the confidence and winning the plaudits of all in his dexterous management of the innumerable complex issues evoked by the problems of a titanic European war. Last year we memorialized here North Carolina's first man of letters of large calibre, whose "Poe's Cottage at Fordham" is part of the immortal heritage of American and English song, John Henry Boner; tomorrow morning is to be memorialized the lamented Henry Jerome Stockard, loved citizen of Raleigh so recently passed away—a poet whose powerful pæans of praise of his section won for him the

enviable title of "The Voice of North Carolina." Tomorrow night we shall gather again in this hall to pay the perfect tribute of art and praise to North Carolina's first great figure in world-literature—after Poe and Hawthorne the greatest master of the short-story America has ever produced—William Sidney Porter, affectionately cherished in the hearts and memories of millions under the quaint pseudonym of "O. Henry." Indeed, when I reflect upon the richness, variety and texture of the gifts of this New North State to America and to the world, I am driven to paraphrase the impressive words of Milton: "Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant State rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks; as an eagle renewing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full midday beam, while the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds, with those also that love the twilight, flutter about, amazed at what she means."

I would not have you think that, in this chorus of praise, there is no room in my mind for reservations or for the acknowledgment of grave deficiencies in our artistic and literary culture. Indeed, the latest researches of science compel the belief that genius is not the result of the evolution of the masses of the people, but is a giant variation from the common level of our species.

Whether or not we acknowledge that genius is a spontaneous giant variation, a sporadic birth of energy not built up from the simple to the complex, certainly it must be recognized that art, as a factor of civilization, is an incomparable means of widening intellectual and spiritual horizons and promoting the cause of culture. It cannot be denied that the measure of a people's advance in the fine arts is the measure of their distance from the brutes. Art is not merely an auxiliary to civilization; art is almost synonymous with civilization itself. "Life without art," as Ruskin says, "is mere brutality." And no matter how remarkable have been the "spontaneous, giant variations from the common level of our species," it behooves us to take account of that precious "common level" which, in a true sense, is the measure of civilization in a democracy.

"What is the problem of culture?" asks the remarkable artist and astute philosopher, Friedrich Nietzsche. His answer is unimpeachable: "To live and to work is the noblest strivings of one's nation and of humanity. Not only, therefore, to receive and to learn, but to live. To free one's age and people from wrong tendencies, to have one's ideal before one's eyes."

Much as I regret to admit it, long and patient observation compels me to acknowledge that here in the South of the past, here in North Caro-

lina, so far as art and literature are concerned, we have not lived and worked in the noblest strivings of one's nation and of humanity. In literature and art, for more than a century, we have received; even in a sense we have learned; but we have not lived. There be much truth in the witty definition that penury is the wages of the pen. And at the Annual Banquet in London of the Royal Literary Fund for the Relief of Necessitous Authors, Mr. Walter Page recently evoked a chorus of dissent to his statement: "From the viewpoint of mere barnyard gumption it is absurd for anybody to start to spend his life writing. Gambling is more likely to yield a steady income. It is an absurd career and a foolish foolhardy business. No man has a right to take it up who can avoid doing so." In making these observations, which must be taken with a liberal pinch of salt, Mr. Page was undoubtedly making a humorous personal confession. I may go even further and hazard the guess that he was thinking of North Carolina. It is a remarkable commentary upon our civilization that, so far as my knowledge goes, no man or woman in North Carolina, with the omission of journalists, has ever succeeded in earning, or even attempted to earn, a livelihood solely through the medium of the pen of the literary artist. Thus far in our history we have produced no distinguished painter, no great sculptor, no famous dramatist. In his study on "The Geographical Distribution of American Genius," published during the present year, Professor Scott Nearing does not even consider the State of North Carolina as a separate geographical unit; and concludes that, of persons of eminence in the United States today, "an overwhelming proportion seem to have been born in that section of the northeastern United States bounded by the Mason and Dixon line on the South, the Mississippi-Missouri River on the West." I never think of the literature of my native State that I do not recall the mournful threnody of that famous bard of our sister Carolina, J. Gordon Coogler:

> Alas for the South! Her books have grown fewer;
> She never was much given to literature.

I greatly fear that we do not care very much for reading and for books in North Carolina—not even for encyclopædias. I heard not long ago of an agent who asked a farmer in one of our rural districts if he didn't want to buy an encyclopædia, to which the conservative old farmer replied: "Naw, I don't take much stock in them new-fangled machines. In this neck of the woods we still stick to the old-fashioned horse and buggy."

Many of you have seen upon University Heights in New York City a noble structure of gleaming white marble, an enduring monument to

American genius, the Hall of Fame. Of the fifty-one tablets thus far placed upon its walls, only one bears the name of a native of North Carolina, the soldier-statesman, Andrew Jackson; and through the patronage of Willie and Allen Jones, and the guardianship of Joseph Hewes, North Carolina can lay a secondary claim to but one other name among those of foreign birth, the man whom Benjamin Franklin dubbed the "North Carolina midshipman," the greatest naval hero in our annals, John Paul Jones. A soldier-statesman and a sailor—but no man or woman of literary genius. In the Hall of Fame, the South is represented by soldiers, sailors, statesmen, jurists, scientists—but by only one distinctively literary genius—a man of English parentage who happened to be born in Boston, Massachusetts—Edgar Allan Poe.

For many years I have searched deeply into the causes for the comparative dearth of literary and artistic productivity in the South and for that genial Southern indifference to publication—the rock upon which literary fame is founded. Tonight I shall dispense with all explanation, apology, or excuse. The thrill of the new time tempts one less to pathetic retrospection than to buoyant prophecy. Nevertheless, I must voice my solemn conclusion that we cannot build up here a great civilization—a civilization as great in art and letters, in culture and taste, as it is great in material resources, statesmanlike ideals, and an aroused social consciousness—unless we *do live* and *work* in the noblest strivings of our nation and of humanity. Investigation has convinced me that North Carolina is lamentably backward, woefully deficient, in her activity and representation in the great national organizations making for the development of art, literature, drama, and all the multifarious influences for artistic culture in a democracy. I have studied the records of these national organizations for the present year in the effort to record, faithfully and justly, the part actually played by North Carolina in the life and work of national culture. I find that North Carolina is not represented at all in the National Academy of Arts and Letters, or in the much larger body of the National Institute of Arts and Letters; nor has she any official representation, in the form of elected officers, president or vice-presidents, in the American Historical Association, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the American Pageant Association, the Drama League of America, the American Folk-Lore Society, the Poetry Society of America, and the American Academy of Political and Social Science. Little if any attention need be paid to those of sectional bias who point out that no scholar or man of letters, so long as he remains in the South, ever wins large recognition in the national societies. Such a narrow charge, even though resting upon indisputable facts, might arise

from a complete misinterpretation of those facts; and in any case cannot serve as a valid excuse for our supineness and indifference. In science, pure and applied, North Carolina is nationally and internationally recognized. In this great branch of knowledge and research, no Southern State, I dare say, is her equal. But in the arts—literature, painting, sculpture, drama—North Carolina is not living and working today in the noblest strivings of the nation and of humanity.

As I have studied the cultural problems of our life *here* and sought to make of this association a more *constructive* instrument for ministering to our cultural wants, I have come to the conclusion that we have three vital and immediate needs. The program of the meetings of the Association for this year have been especially designed to meet these needs.

No people can form a just estimate of their history, or feel legitimate pride in it, until they know what that history really is. No comprehensive and complete history of North Carolina will ever be written until the contribution of the individual units, whose integrated life have largely constituted that history, are studied and bodied forth with completeness and detail. The county is the unit of the State; the history of the county must furnish the nucleus for the history of the State. North Carolina has exactly one hundred counties; it is a regrettable fact that histories, of reasonable adequacy, have been written of only about a dozen out of these hundred counties. I earnestly desire to identify this Association with the duty and the task of stimulating, inspiring and directing the writing of the industrial, social, economic, institutional histories of every single county in North Carolina. The accomplishment of this great work will prepare the way for the writing of the true and definitive history of North Carolina—the moving story of the life of a great people.

In like manner, I desire to see our people acquire a decent and adequate knowledge of the literary contributions of North Carolina for the past one hundred and twenty-five years. Nietzsche defines man as a something to be surpassed. And surely we can never rise above ourselves to ourselves in literature until we really feel and know what North Carolina has contributed in letters to the thought and consciousness of the American people. As the county is the unit of the State, so the State is the unit of the nation. In the noteworthy words of the South's greatest living novelist, James Lane Allen:

> There must in time and in the natural course of events come about a complete marshaling of the American commonwealths, especially of the older American commonwealths, attended each by its women and men of letters; with the final result that the entire pageant of our literary creativeness as

a people will thus be exhibited and reviewed within those barriers and divisions which from the beginning have constituted the peculiar genius of our civilization.

When this has been done, when the States have severally made their profoundly significant showing, when the evidence up to some century mark or half-century mark is all presented, then for the first time we, as a reading and thoughtful self-studying people, may be advanced to the position of beginning to understand what as a whole our cis-Atlantic branch of English literature really is.

It has been my great ambition to have this Association take account in an orderly way of the manifold sides of our State literature—history, poetry, fiction, oratory and folk-lore. Out of the fundamental principle of our government and institutions, the principle that the country is a nation of States, there comes the recognition that our literature, with all its humanity and its provinciality, is a national literature made up of the contributions of the individual States. This explanation of our American literature lies at the basis of our whole democratic civilization.

Lastly, I have one recommendation to make to this Association and to the people of North Carolina. It is to no Brahmin caste of scholars, to no occupants of the ivory tower of literary seclusion, that I would make this recommendation. I appeal to the communal consciousness of a people—a people who, individually and collectively, need to be inspired with a deep sense of historic tradition and the passion of a great faith in the destiny of our commonwealth. I desire to see spread before our people the entire pageant of our historic creativeness—as I have seen great pageants of the history of Oxford University and of the development of the martial power of the British Empire, now so terribly taxed upon the battlefields of Europe. Pageantry has been defined as poetry for the masses. We deeply need to see created in North Carolina, through the common efforts of our leading citizens, a fine art for the people. The elemental instinct for democratic art in our midst needs to be educated, developed, refined, by means of popular pageantry, into a mighty agency for civilization. I recommend that, during the coming year, historic episodes of State and national interest be presented by common effort in communities throughout the State. May I suggest, among others, for Wilmington the revolt against the Stamp Act; for Edenton, the Ladies' Tea Party; for New Bern, the Settlement of the Palatines; for Winston-Salem, the founding of the Academy; for Charlotte, the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence; for Salisbury, incidents from the careers of Daniel Boone and the pioneers; for Greensboro, the Battle of Guilford Court House. Next year, during Community-service Week, all of these episodes which

have been locally presented and perhaps others should then be linked together in a great State Historical Pageant here in Raleigh, the capital of the commonwealth—arranged in chronological order and designed to give a poetic and romantic picture of the historic evolution of the life of a people. Through this happy wedding of art and history may be brought home to our consciousness a profoundly moving realization of a glorious past and a quickening of our desires and hopes and labors for an even more glorious future.

In conclusion, let me remind you that we celebrate here tonight the fifteenth anniversary of the founding of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina. In an address delivered at the University of North Carolina exactly seventy-five years ago, the eloquent Hugh McQueen used these prophetic words: "No association of practical service to the interests of Literature and Science now exists in the State of North Carolina; no public-spirited Society, which might serve to hedge in by its active and beneficent care the sensitive and fragrant flowers of genius which spring up within our borders; which might serve to incite matured intelligence to active operation for the public good, which might stimulate youthful talent to essay the strength of its own pinions; which might preserve from oblivion many interesting facts and productions which are occasionally exhibited in the intercourse and operations of life, and which might disseminate extensively among the people, such literary documents and productions as would renovate the aspect of letters in this department of the Union, and convert our present dreary surface into a Literary Arcadia." Sixty years after these striking words were uttered, there was founded here this remarkable Association which has already fulfilled many of the functions so sedulously set forth by the cultured McQueen. If it has not, as yet, wholly succeeded in converting our present dreary surface into a *Literary Arcadia,* certainly it has helped to arouse the cultural consciousness of the State as it has never been aroused before in our history. And let us hope that through the stimulation and encouragement of the fine arts, the influence which emanates so effectively from this already distinguished Association, we may look in the future for the growth of a national and international spirit of culture which shall enable us the more effectively to *live* and *work* in the noblest strivings of the nation and of humanity.

Some Argentine Ideas

BY HON. R. S. NAON, ARGENTINE AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES.

I know of no occasion where it would be more timely for me to speak on my country than on this, so kindly tendered to me by your association, and there is no subject I consider more appropriate for reaffirming our characteristic as a people of ideals than that which I have chosen for my address to you today: "Some Argentine Ideas."

It is not my aim to treat this subject from the standpoint of a doctrinarian in constitutional law, but rather to present to you as clearly and comprehensively as time and circumstances will permit, the sentiments, the principles and the ideas which underlie the formation and development of the political entity called "The Argentine Republic."

These sentiments, these principles and these ideas have continued to be maintained and have inspired and assured our progress through all the vicissitudes of our organic life. They were the permanent aspiration of the Argentine people until they became crystallized into the precepts of our wise constitution, into the system of legislation which rules the regular life of the Republic, into the characteristics of our social life and of our civic activity, and, finally, into the action of profound liberalism which has always distinguished our international political conduct.

The Argentine citizen lives his life under the domination of a sentiment of national pride and self-esteem which he cannot overcome and which some might consider and have already considered as a manifestation of hypertrophy of personality. I beg of you to excuse this weakness, if you note it in me, when I say that I entertain the hope that when I conclude my brief exposition you will find justification for the aspiration which every Argentine citizen entertains when he believes as a national conviction that it is our manifest destiny to make of the country, by the endeavor of her sons and the moral coöperation of mankind, a democracy of the highest social and political distinction.

The Argentine Constitution was the product of hardships extending over a long period and it has, therefore, consecrated all the social ideals which agitated the Argentine spirit from the moment the idea of our political emancipation was born.

We cannot begin the development of the subject without first taking up the preamble of that Constitution. It dominates and embraces, giving utterance thereto with eloquent simplicity, all those hardships which have not yet disappeared in spite of our achievements and which

maintain in the national spirit the eager desire to realize the aspirations which have not yet been fulfilled, or to improve to the utmost what are already a part of our national qualities.

This preamble represents the most authentic expression of our aspirations to form an organic social entity, and makes of our Constitution rather than a body of more or less strict rules of conduct, a body of principles, an enunciation of political ideals. Its elasticity and, therefore, its capacity of evolution is so great as to enable it to satisfy all the social tendencies which appear to have been imposed by mankind upon the political organization of modern nations. All the exigencies of good government, all the necessities of a wise and fruitful social administration, are to be found there directing the organic national life with the irresistible force always encountered in principles for peoples who live of, by and for them. All the impositions of the social moment and all the demands of the spirit of the times find there also a possibility of adaptation to those principles applied to the development of the activities of a people with sufficient moral and intellectual capacity to understand them, to interpret them and to practice them.

We have already lived for seventy years under the guidance of our Constitution and have formed in its observance our political habits, and have inspired in the spirit of its provisions the achievement of our civic ideals.

But the long and arduous road traveled has served solely to strengthen it and cause it to continue to be as at the beginning, with the same intensity, the highest and most perfect source of our patriotism, as well as the instrument for the adequate working out of all problems affecting our political life.

It might also be said that for an Argentine does not exist the moral possibility of applying his activity as a citizen in the life of the nation, without bearing in mind the idea of the Constitution and of its principles, which impose themselves on his understanding and on his will as the beginning and as the end of his action. By this I mean to say that as a matter of fact the first sentiment of an Argentine, the highest expression of his patriotism, is respect for the Constitution, a respect which is almost fanatical and which forms in his mind the notion of a wrong when its principles are violated.

This notion, when extended to all citizens, produces as a result a national civic morality in the masses which prompts them to make any personal sacrifice for the moral prestige of the country. This sentiment is so predominant that even in the course of our international life has it spontaneously appeared. It also produces a constant demand of the people upon the government, and becomes a permanent control of public

opinion upon all public officials as well as upon the action and conduct of their statesmen. Hence it has become a characteristic, even more, a need, of the Argentine "Public Man" to sound the very depths of the national conscience in order to adjust to its dictates his directing conduct in public life.

It is for this reason that the Argentine "Public Man" is, wherever he may be exercising his activities and in spite of the physical distance which separates him from his country, an instrument of his people for the realization of the organic aspirations which dominate them and is an interpreter of their capacities and collective desires. His individual personality does not exist. His personal aspirations are submerged in his devotion to his country. His obsession is to reflect the national personality which he feels in himself as a citizen and as a public official. Hence, also this other sentiment which dominates the "Public Man" as a necessity of his life, namely, forgetfulness of self, which our great "Public Men" have practiced to the utmost, seeking to make themselves worthy of harboring the only absorbing passion of which their moral conscience is capable, the pride of recognizing in themselves a genuine Argentine incarnation.

Both sentiments, that of collective Argentinism which characterizes our masses and that which distinguishes and determines the life and action of our "Public Man" have been embraced in the Constitution, and especially in its preamble, in the recognition of the fact of a "national entity," an "Argentine people," and the necessity of the "Public Man" to interpret that people, and to fulfill its precepts in creating for that purpose the idea of political representation. The preamble of our Constitution begins with the following words which are full of meaning to one acquainted with the historical development of our Republic: "We the representatives of the people of the Argentine nation," that is to say, "We who are vested with authority emanating from the only sovereign entity constituted by the 'People' of the 'Nation.'" Observe, gentlemen, the preëxisting notion of a "Nation"; the notion and the sentiment of an "Argentine people"; the notion and the sentiment of a collective entity with an organic life which manifests itself through that other personal entity "We," that is to say, the "Public Man," an institution created in our democracy as a consequence and as an organ of the representative system, and whose dignity and importance and whose authority are based on that other entity, the sovereign entity "People"—the "Public Man" who devotes himself without reservation to the service and the glory of the "People."

The touchstone which we have had in order to bring to ourselves the realization of the virtues of our Constitution has always been that

drafted by the great framers of your Constitution of 1787, and whenever we wish to show clearly in the analysis of ours this idea of a preexisting "National Personality," we place beside those opening words of our preamble the words of the preamble of the American Constitution: "We, the people of the United States." Note the difference. In both is present the collective idea: the existence of a people; but in one of them the "Public Man"—"We the representatives"—acts, discharging the representation of the "People" who have previously at a constituent convention designated them to organize the forms of the government which was to rule thereafter the organic life of a "Nation" which had been in existence ever since independence had been attained.

In the other, the people of the States are those who act, they themselves framing the Constitution inasmuch as its force is subject to their approval, and the "People" not of an existing "Nation," but of sovereign States which sought to establish a closer union. The former organize a "Nation" which had already existed through the organ of their "Public Men," vested originally with the "national sentiment" which inspires them, in their patriotic labor, with the recollection of glories and hardships experienced during the period of forty years of "national" sacrifices. The latter, the plenipotentiaries of autonomous entities, seek a constitution not inspired by a "national" sentiment, which did not exist, but to form a "union" later to be converted, notwithstanding any local sentiment, into a "national" entity by the strengthening of the "more perfect union" which the sanction of the Constitution assured.

Both Constitutions conformed to the political necessities of each people, and the words of the two preambles reflect the diversity of those necessities: "We, the representatives of the people of the Argentine nation," and "We, the people of the United States"; and both at the same time that they express two different political sentiments, also express two constitutional ideas which are likewise different.

The Argentine Constitution expresses in the words quoted the sentiment of the "Nationality" which has always maintained in all minds, even during periods of internal dissension, the constitutional idea of national unity. On the other hand the American Constitution expresses in the words quoted, not the sentiment of a "nationality," but the sentiment of the locality, the sentiment of the local state which was at the same time the constitutional idea on which its federalism was based. And so two federal republics like that of the United States and that of Argentina show their different origin, one evolving by the union of its different entities toward "national consolidation," and the other evolv-

ing toward the organization of the local governments, in order to satisfy the regional exigencies of the constitutional idea of "national unity."

The political sociologist will find another essential sentiment which has always constituted one of the most fundamental and characteristic principles of our national organization. I refer to a profound liberalism which has always been reflected and has become a constitutional idea and an Argentine principle of legislation. It has also prompted, aside from the manifestations of internal organic life, the broad and generous Argentine international policy closely observed even at times and under circumstances which tended little to the preservation of a disinterested and altruistic policy.

This sentiment is expressed in the same preamble when in setting forth the purposes of the representatives of the people in enacting the Constitution, it says: "To constitute the national union, guarantee justice, assure internal peace, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and assure the benefits of liberty for ourselves, for our posterity and for all men of the world who wish to live on Argentine soil."

This was without doubt a clear expression of the social tendencies of our revolution of independence which established from the first moment, together with the abolition of slavery, the principle of political equality of all men born in our territory, that of equality of civil rights for all inhabitants, whether natives or foreigners. There is no constitution which establishes as a fundamental principle that humanitarian tendency for the entire system of legislation more broadly than the Argentine Constitution.

The exercise of the activity of a man and his liberty when the achievement of his own welfare and aspirations is involved, is limited only by the exercise of the activities and the liberty of others without any distinction other than that emanating from the difference in their personal capacities. This humanitarian sentiment has always prevailed in our tendencies, in our customs and in our laws. At the same time that it recognizes and practices that all men are created equal, it makes of the consideration and respect arising from this equality a sentiment of human fraternity, which in turn gives rise to that real social and political democracy that makes all also equal in benefiting by opportunities in proportion to the capacities and virtues of each, and likewise the country as a whole as the result of the free and fertile activities of those individual capacities and of those virtues.

Such is the nature and character of the Argentine democracy, of that Argentine democracy which is not only a principle of our internal political organization, but also an inborn sentiment in our life as an inter-

national entity, a sentiment which instills in us a feeling of absolute equality in our relations with all the nations of the world, and, consequently, the consciousness of our duties in the work of civilization and human progress.

It is for this that in the same manner that the principle of democracy is the foundation of our political organization, the sentiment of international democracy is the foundation of our international policy. This principle is so closely associated with our personal activity as citizens and our international activities as a sovereign people, that even a casual observer could easily note it even in the most inconsequential manifestations of our individual or collective life. The sentiment of political equality and of social equality of an Argentine citizen in his relations with others is like the sentiment of international equality of the Argentine Republic, a sentiment which does not admit either of neglect or indifference, not to speak of ignorance thereof. It is a sentiment under permanent tension, an aggressive sentiment whose powerful dynamic force characterizes and defines the entire movement and development of our system of legislation and all the pride of our national character which is as intense as our respect for the rights of other peoples and the generosity and altruism characteristic of our foreign policy. This sentiment is responsible, furthermore, for the spirit of optimism which characterizes our people, instilling in them the firm conviction that there is nothing which cannot be overcome by our efforts, that there is no ideal which cannot be attained by our will.

This principle of our activity as citizens was expressed, long before the enactment of our Constitution, by our greatest political sociologist, the author of the "Socialistic Dogma of the Revolution of May," in these words, which before their enunciation were an instinct of the civic action of every Argentine, and afterwards a gospel, the feeling for and observance of which constantly grew: "Men have no real value in politics except as artisans for the production or realization of social ideas. We do not conceive any progress for the country except under the condition that the initiative in thought and social action be taken by the best and most capable; and by the best and most capable we understand those who represent the purest virtues and the highest intelligence."

Together with these instincts of moral eminence which characterize the permanent ideal of an Argentine as a citizen, there springs the profound knowledge of our national greatness which has also been an inborn patrimony of our thought and was expressed with the same candid conviction when we came to independent life, or when we were succeeding in the struggle for national organization, or at the present moment

when we feel a personality already vested with attributes of all kinds to act in the front rank with the most advanced in the struggle of civilization.

In brief, I might affirm that the essential idea, the basic idea of our political life, the principal Argentine constitutional idea, is "Democracy." Democracy founded on an unshaken conviction of equality and civic fraternity and of equality and international fraternity, and developed upon a representative system of government which at the same time that it recognizes the superior existence of a "People" with aspirations and a "National" consciousness, form also a basic element, the Argentine "Public Man," representing all the moral ideas of that "People," developing his directive action as an interpreter of the popular conscience and exigencies, the visionary of a glory which only the patriot and the democrat can feel, the glory of achieving a name, no matter how modest, in the history of the progress of his country.

This essential idea rests likewise on the basis of a preëxisting collective instinct, the instinct of nationality, but stimulated by the necessity of individual realization which animates our constitutive elements determining the conscience of the citizen, and by the necessity of partial collective realization, which led to defining, more and more, after our independence, the life of the local entity of our Argentine provinces.

The sentiment of local autonomy which underlay the internal struggle for its recognition and which after becoming defined and strengthened during 40 years of efforts and untold hardships, was recognized by the framers of our fundamental charter, was as a matter of fact the origin of this other constitutional idea—Argentine federalism—which was affirmed as the principle on which our politico-administrative organization was to be based. This other Argentine constitutional idea was adopted not as the result of a capricious and theoretical speculation, but as the result of a popular sentiment which had overcome all previous efforts at organization that had failed to recognize it.

There can be no democracy where ignorance reigns, ignorance not being compatible with the morality and the ideals which are essential elements of democracy. Nor can there be a democracy, or at least it cannot produce the organic political activity indispensable in the stimulation of national life, when civic indifference prevails, diverting the citizen from his interest in public affairs or keeping him from the polls where the powers of the government are organized and the scope of its action fixed as called for by the national interest. Hence, two more constitutional ideas: compulsory primary education and the compulsory vote. They have not been in fact literally prescribed by the fundamental

charter, but they have been imposed by it in principle, and fully regulated and defined by special legislation.

Compulsory primary education seeks to equalize as far as possible the mental capacity of our citizens in order to place them in such position that the civic life of the country may not be turned over to the blind passion of more or less self-interested bosses, but may develop rather as a consequence of a direct consideration of the problems concerning the life of the nation by the average mental capacity of the masses.

By the adoption of the compulsory vote it has been sought to remove the dangers of civic atony. Among us compulsory common education has always prepared our citizens for the struggle of life, giving them the means of obtaining a more or less broad understanding of the general notions essential in modern society to efficient action. The compulsory vote is impressing upon them the need of familiarizing themselves with the principles which personify national "Public Men," with the exigencies of the policy and administration of the country. In this way they are able to influence the action of those "Public Men," compelling them, either to define their principles by discussion in the electoral campaigns, or to apply them in official positions, and enabling them to control the action and correct the errors of the government by an intelligent and patriotic opposition.

These principles are supplemented: compulsory education, by the removal of every religious influence from the public primary school, thus leaving the work of forming and developing a religious sentiment to the family and home; the compulsory vote, by providing for a secret ballot in order to avoid the corruption which might result from weakness of character in the voter.

Our Constitution has recognized to such a degree the impossibility of attaining our democracy except upon the basis of the mental preparation of the citizen, that it has provided in one of its provisions relating to the political existence of the "Federal States," the requirement that their local constitutions assure administration of justice, municipal government and primary instruction therein as a condition precedent to guaranteeing them the enjoyment and the exercise of their institutions.

All these antecedents are the result of a sentiment of fruitful liberalism which has always controlled the development of our organic life. It has injected into every constituent or legislative act a principle of activity and progress so intense in its nature that more than once it has brought us to the point of considering respect for the administrative or political traditions as contrary to the interests of the nation. It might also be asserted that the only tradition which persists in the

Argentine mind as a force of permanent inspiration, and which cannot be overcome, is the tradition of the glories and ideals of the revolution and of the principles which gave them birth.

Perhaps an explanation of this peculiar circumstance may also be found in the fact that that revolution put an end to the non-political existence of the people and to a public administration organized upon the principle of the absolute power of kings. The revolution created a new state of affairs which did not find in that previous situation a single base for expansion. Tradition, therefore, instead of constituting for us the starting point for subsequent progress, signified rather a negation of the principles of the revolution which was based on liberty and equality of men and of peoples, that is to say, upon the new principle of the revolutionary democracy, which, as our great sociologist says: "Leveling all conditions, it tells us that there are no other differences than those established by the law for the government of society; that the magistrate, outside of the place he discharges his functions, is merged with other citizens; that the priest, the soldier, the lawyer, the merchant, the artisan, the rich and the poor are all alike; that the lowest of the masses is a man equal in rights to others and carries impressed on his forehead the dignity of his origin; that only probity, work, talent and genius produce superiority; that one engaged in the smallest industry, if he have capacity and virtues, is no less than the priest, the lawyer or any other who devotes his faculties to some other occupation; and, in brief, that in a democratic society the only ones worthy, wise and virtuous and entitled to consideration are those who contribute with their natural efforts to the welfare and prosperity of the country."

We had been living for three centuries under the dead weight of an almost religious respect for tradition and of the infallible authority which the old political doctrines imposed; while the moment called for the application of the forces which have gone to make up the strength of democracy as a political principle. They called for a continuous action of reform, for the exercise of all the mental and physical activities of man, because, as a matter of fact, movement in every aspect of social life is the essence and the reason of democracy. Hence, therefore, this sentiment of profound liberalism which has always characterized our organic life, a sentiment which spontaneously exerts its influence throughout our social activity. It finds its reflection not only in our internal legislation wherein are established all the broadest doctrines which human thought has evolved in the matter of individual rights, but also in its strengthening of the principles of liberty and equality.

A consequence of this essential principle is found in the fact that Argentine life develops and has always developed looking about and to the future, rather than back to the past, and in the midst of the struggle which leads to triumph, rather than to the consideration of what has already been attained.

The individual rights corresponding to the Argentine liberalism constitute in reality the patrimony of every citizen, and a democratic organization like ours could not but adopt them in the broadest form and assure their exercise with the integrity necessary to produce the favorable social effects which spring from free and salutary individual action. It is for this reason that the principle which establishes the political equality of all citizens and the civil equality of all inhabitants, as well as the guarantees thereof, has found scrupulous expression in our fundamental laws and regulations.

This idea has been incorporated as a principle in the Argentine Constitution. It prescribes that all inhabitants of the nation enjoy the following rights subject to the laws which govern their exercise, namely: To work and engage in any lawful occupation; to navigate and engage in commerce; to petition the authorities; to enter, sojourn in, pass through and leave the territory; to publish their ideas through the press without previous censorship; to use and enjoy their property; to associate for useful ends; freely to profess their religion; to teach and to learn; and as a guarantee of the exercise of these rights the same Constitution has proscribed all prerogatives based on blood or birth as well as the existence of special privileges or titles of nobility, and has proclaimed equality as the basis of taxation and public charges; it has proclaimed the inviolability of property; it has guaranteed to the author and inventor the exclusive ownership of his work, invention or discovery for a reasonable time commensurate with the general interests; it has proscribed forever from the Argentine penal system the confiscation of property; it has established that no armed body can make requisitions nor demand aid of any kind; it has established that no inhabitant of the nation can be punished without previous trial in pursuance with a law antedating the act for which he is tried, nor be tried by special commissions, nor be removed from the jurisdiction of the judges designated to try him by a law antedating the act, nor be compelled to testify against himself, nor be arrested except on the written order of a competent authority. It has proclaimed the inviolability of the defense in court of persons and rights, as well as the inviolability of domicile and of correspondence and private papers; it has abolished forever the penalty of death for political causes, and as to its penal institutions it has recorded as a constitutional principle the idea that the jails of the

nation must be sanitary and clean and be used for the custody of and not for punishing the unfortunate inmates thereof, holding the judge who authorizes them responsible for any measures which, under the pretext of caution, tend to mortify them beyond the requirements of such custody. And, finally, it has assured the absolute moral independence of all its inhabitants, guaranteeing the principle that the private acts of men which in no wise offend order or public morals, nor prejudice third persons, are reserved solely to God and exempt from the authority of magistrates.

Beside the principle of equality of rights and as a correlative thereof, it has always been an Argentine idea that every citizen bears the responsibility of the national defense, and, therefore, that it is his duty to take up arms in its behalf. This constitutional idea has been guaranteed by the enactment of laws which establish the principle of compulsory military service for the organization of the national army and navy, constituting, in conjunction with the principles of compulsory primary education and compulsory universal suffrage, the three cornerstones upon which the entire structure of Argentine democracy rests, that is to say, the mental and moral vigor, together with the civic capacity and the defensive strength which constitute combined the guaranty of the organization, the practice and the maintenance of democratic institutions.

I have already said that another of the great Argentine ideas, constitutional in fact because it has its existence in the ground-work of our national system as well as in the mind itself of the Argentine people, is that which springs from the humanitarianism peculiar thereto. It strengthens and develops to the utmost the sentiment of our national personality, and recognizes and respects as well the principle of the sovereign equality of other nations, practicing, not for the sake of convenience which never determined the action of privileged organisms, but on account of the moral necessity which dominates our life, the principle of international democracy which has at every moment of our history inspired our foreign policy.

This principle has not been only recognized by its enunciation in the preamble of the Constitution, when it assures the benefits of liberty to all men of the world who desire to inhabit Argentine soil, as well as to ourselves as to our posterity. It has also inspired the Argentine policy respecting the foreigner, whether manifested either in the enactment of positive law, in international relations, or in the negotiation of treaties and conventions. The Constitution and the laws have declared the principle that foreigners enjoy in the territory of the nation all the civil rights of a citizen; it has likewise recognized the principle that

the navigation of the inland waters of the nation is open to all flags; it has prescribed the obligation of the federal government to cement its relations of peace and commerce with foreign powers by treaties conforming to the principles of our public law; and, finally, it has thrown open the doors of all our moral and material activities to the foreigner without further restrictions than those called for for the exigencies of our social preservation, in establishing as an obligation of the federal government the promotion of European immigration and in forbidding it to adopt any measure tending to restrict, limit or encumber with any tax whatsoever the entrance into Argentine territory of foreigners who come with the purpose of tilling the soil, improving industries or introducing and teaching the arts and sciences.

It is unnecessary to tell you that an evidence of the faithful application of these principles is shown by the hundreds of thousands of men who annually come from all civilized nations to our shores to establish their homes among us and to take advantage of the opportunities offered by our natural wealth and our laws to men of good will.

This liberalism, which has always been an essential factor in the development of our organic life and has always determined our legislation and our policy, has not found expression solely in the precepts of our Constitution or in the provisions of our laws. It also characterizes each period of our diplomatic history in so eloquent and so efficient a form that it constitutes one of the most certain elements of judgment for the study of the tendencies and characteristics of the Argentine people. This history shows that the Argentine people is an organically pacifist people, a people which as an element of civilization and of progress has the powerful intuition that only with the prevalence of peace and good will among men, and peace and good will among nations, is it possible for their ideals and aims to be maintained.

Resort to arms has never attracted their predilections, and if they have more than once been compelled to accept it as an inexorable and inevitable necessity, they have not done so either to seek a benefit or to procure an advantage, because they have never conceived any benefit or advantage which could spring from the misfortune or from the prostration which war entails. It is only the unavoidable exigencies of the national dignity or the integrity of our institutions which could compel it to accept the calamities and consequences of a war. But war itself has served to reaffirm how intense and deep is our liberalism.

Another manifestation of our liberalism may be found in the propaganda which our country has been conducting for international arbitration as a means of settling disputes between nations, adopting a formula which is at the present time the highest perfection of that system. One

of the most illustrious statesmen of my country thus had occasion in 1880, as Minister of Foreign Affairs, to affirm that arbitration had always been a noble and constant aim of our people, and that "the Argentine government can show its adherence for a long time to that principle which wisely considers both the interests of justice and the altruistic requirements of humanity." In fact, since 1856, when the Argentine Republic concluded with Chile her first arbitration treaty for the settlement of boundary questions pending at that time and such others as might thereafter arise, our efforts to bind ourselves with all other countries of the world through compulsory arbitration, have not ceased for a single day.

I cherish the belief—perhaps in my pride as an Argentine—that it is the recognition of the moral conscience of my country, rather than her enormous economic vitality that now and always has won for her the esteem and respect of the civilized world.

Gentlemen, I must now conclude, but not without taking this opportunity to thank you for the honor you have bestowed upon me in inviting me to address you, and to express the admiration we feel for the illustrious founders of the American Union. From them our heroes got the most profound political inspiration. They became for us an example and a model of republican virtues and democratic ideals, and the Constitution they framed guided in great measure the glorious expansion of our forces in this strenuous march towards the highest possible culminations, a fatiguing but steady march but to which we are forced by the record of our past, the vigorous achievements of our present, and the energy of our aspirations for the future.

CONFERENCE ON COUNTY HISTORY

Opening Remarks

By President Archibald Henderson.

Ladies and Gentlemen: I welcome you here today most heartily. I feel that we are assembled to consider what I regard as the most vital and immediate problem in historical investigation now confronting our people. No people can form a just estimate of their own history, or feel legitimate pride in it, until they know what that history is. And I venture the assertion that no comprehensive or complete history of North Carolina up to any given point in time will ever be written until the contributions of the individual units, whose integrated life have constituted that history, are studied and bodied forth with completeness and detail. The county is the unit of the State; the history of the county must furnish the nucleus for the history of the State.

There are three phases in the study of the county history which should, I think, be considered today.

First and foremost, we must endeavor to arouse historic interest in every county of the State, and further the efforts of local investigators and local historical organizations to secure, while there is yet time, or at least to locate and catalogue, such material of historic interest as may be in private hands—diaries, letters, papers, documents, manuscripts, etc. I would point to my own native county of Rowan which has reorganized the Rowan County Historical Society; its quarters will be in the great new community center, the historic courthouse, now handsomely remodeled. An elaborate history of the county is now preparing; and it is probable that a new and greatly enlarged edition of Rumple's "Rowan" will also be published in the near future.

The second problem is the task of the examination and calendaring of the public records in every county in the State. For this purpose legislative appropriations, running over a series of years, will be required to cover the cost of a trained historical expert. Such an historical expert would examine every record book and every bundle of manuscripts in every county courthouse, make a card catalogue of all materials which deserve to be catalogued, and eventually collate all such card catalogues in publishing a full calendar of all the county records in the State. A duty no less important than that of cataloguing materials would be the preparation of a report on the way in which the records are kept, and a recommendation of some uniform method for

indexing the records and keeping them on file in such a way as to be easy of access to historical students.

The third problem is the very pressing and vital problem: What type of county history do we really want here in North Carolina? The most scientific and exhaustive history of any county I have seen, of the modern type, is the "History of Lake County, Illinois," by Prof. John J. Halsey, of Lake Forest University, whose people, by the way, lived in Chowan for more than a century until his grandfather moved away from Edenton in 1806. I have brought this county history, a quarto volume, here with me; its length, 872 pages, will show you how much may be said—and how well it may be said—about a county. My own feeling is that our new county histories should be brief, concise, yet comprehensive in scope. On February 10, 1857, Governor Swain sent out a circular letter in which he said: "To attain uniformity in the series of county histories—perhaps a better plan cannot be suggested than to make 'Wheeler's Sketches of North Carolina' available to the purpose." Today the effort should be made to get away from the old type of genealogical, political and martial county history, with its glorification of family, its accentuation of the military record, and its dreary catalogue of officials with corresponding dates of service. What is needed today, I would venture to suggest, is a new type of county history, which tells in brief, concise and readable form the story of the *life of the people*—industrial, racial, social, economic, institutional; one which ruthlessly omits umbrageous family trees, and reduces the political and martial phases of county history to the true scale of proportion in the picture. I would suggest that a board of editors, with authority to act, should be appointed by this body, whose function it shall be to stimulate the writing of histories in every county in the State, and to furnish a model guide for a county history.

A New Type of County History

By William K. Boyd, Ph.D., Professor of History in Trinity College.

County history has a twofold interest. One is purely local, the concern of a family in its genealogy, of a *raconteur* in notable events of the neighborhood, and of citizens in the political, social, and intellectual antecedents of their environment. The other interest of the subject is derived from its relation to state or region, the way in which it may illustrate and visualize the evolution of that unit of which the county is only a digit. The first of these interests has dominated the writing of county history from the days of Wheeler to the present,[1] yet I feel safe in saying that even from the purely local point of view, in no instance has the history of any county been exhaustively treated. The second phase of county history, its integration in the life of a section or of a state, is more difficult to comprehend and to portray. It has not been done, with the exception of a few incomplete contributions. Believing that a combination of the two interests, the local and the state or regional, is possible, I take the liberty of saying a few words concerning the content of a county history written with such a purpose, some of the sources which are available, and some ways in which such kind of investigation may be encouraged.

I.

Mr. Nash has well said that Orange County in its genesis was "without form and void." [2] Consequently the first task of a county historian is to describe the resources of the county, its geological formation, soils, fauna and flora, minerals, and drainage, pointing out the influence of these earthy factors on the life of the inhabitants. A most helpful guide to the information for such a chapter is Laney and Wood's Bibliography of North Carolina Geology, Mineralogy and Geography.[3]

This opening chapter should be followed by a discussion of the origin of the county, with full particulars of the causes and process by which it was chartered. At the very inception of the county its integration with general political history begins; recollect, for instance, the controversy in colonial days between the Governor and the Assembly concerning the right of incorporation, the significance of an expanding frontier, and the sectional controversy of the east and the west. These have been powerful factors in the organization of our counties; unfor-

[1] Wheeler: Historical Sketches of North Carolina (Philadelphia, 1851).
[2] Nash: History of Orange County, Part I (N. C. Booklet, X, No. 2).
[3] Bulletin of the North Carolina Geological and Economic Survey (Raleigh, 1909).

tunately the information about their relation to the incorporation of specific counties is hidden away in the colonial records, the legislative journals, and the manuscript archives of the State.

Logically there should follow an account of the early inhabitants, the Indians and the whites. The early settlements should be analyzed, showing the racial origins and the influence of racial traits upon later history. Nor should the matter of genealogy be neglected, for it is of far greater than local importance. I dare say that every person in North Carolina who is in any way identified with local history has received many letters of inquiry from people in other states who are anxious to trace their North Carolina ancestry. Most of these inquiries are in vain, because the gentle art of genealogy is almost unknown among us. Therefore the county historian should give an extended list of the early settlers, let us say down to the year 1815, when the migration to the southwest and the northwest was well under way. The significance of such a genealogical survey is realized when we recall that in the early days of Georgia and Alabama the first political cleavage was not so much over political principles as the rivalry of the elements of their population, notably between the North Carolinians and the Virginians in Georgia. The local historians of the southwestern states tell us in just what regions the Carolinians and the Virginians settled; but who can say which sections of North Carolina furnished most of the immigrants? True, Iredell County gave to the far west a Kit Carson, to Tennessee Hugh L. White, while from Mecklenburg and Wake went James K. Polk and Andrew Johnson to Tennessee. Alabama is indebted to Sampson for William R. King, to Mecklenburg for Israel Pickens, to Robeson for John Murphy, to Stokes for Gabriel Moore. Georgia acquired John Clarke from Wake, Jared Irwin from Mecklenburg, and William Robinson from Halifax. But which counties, rather which section of the State, furnished most of the supporters of Governor Clarke in his memorable campaigns against Troup and the Virginians living in Georgia? Moreover, why did so many North Carolinians leave the State of their nativity? What was the effect of this migration on progress and leadership at home? Somewhere and somehow our county records should tell; yet the only investigation of this phase of the history of a single county, so far as I know, has been made by a resident of Alabama.[4]

There are other possibilities in the analysis of population that have not been realized. For instance, one of the leading pacifists of the country has recently declared that in the Civil War the best physical and mental types of manhood in the South were lost, that the hard task of industrial and intellectual recuperation was left to a generation far

[4]Manuscript by Hon. Thomas M. Owen, Montgomery, Ala.

inferior in quality to that which was living in 1860. The facts on which he bases this conclusion are derived from a study of two counties in Virginia and one in Georgia.[5] I wonder if a conscientious county historian in North Carolina, unbiased by pacifist ideals, would come to a similar conclusion?

From the population it is natural to turn to some of the forces that shape the life of a community. The one most slightly treated in the average county history is religion. Perhaps the historian is unduly impressed with denominational jealousies and theological controversies, and deems reticence on the matter of church history the only way to be optimistic. However, he should not fail to realize that religion in its origin is closely related to the social instinct, the desire of mankind for companionship. It is therefore not accidental that in the settlement of this country the church existed long before the day of the schoolhouse, the lodge, the Farmers Union, or the modern club. Moreover, the rules of the churches reflect the attitude of the community on such matters as marriage between members of different denominations, traffic in slaves, Masonry, dress, and amusements. Therefore the church records of the county should be diligently sought and examined. They will reveal standards of conduct and thought that have passed away, and will suggest many traits of mind and character of the early inhabitants. Moreover, some of the significant movements in the history of religion in the South began in North Carolina, such as the first educational movement, the first periodical, and the first camp meeting among the Methodists. James O'Kelly, the earliest champion of individualism in religion in the South, was born and died in Chatham County. The rise of the Missionary Baptists is of more than state or county significance, while the leaven of Calvinism did much to establish academies and colleges. Who can tell to what extent county history might add to our knowledge of these forces, important in the history of Christianity in the South as well as the State?

Economic conditions have also been a powerful factor in shaping the life of a people. North Carolina has always been notable for the variety of its industrial activities, the absence of any solidarity of economic interests, and a resulting lack of unity in political sentiment. Yet economic development has received slight account in our county histories; in none of them have all the available sources been used. I therefore take the liberty of making the following suggestions for the treatment of the economic development of a county.

There were four stages in the economic evolution of a pioneer community, represented by four types of inhabitants: the hunter or trapper, the hog ranger, the farmer, and the miller and manufacturer. If pos-

[5]Jordan: War's Aftermath.

sible the course of these stages of development in the history of the county should be traced. Here written records are apt to fail but landmarks often tell the story. The old trails may show the course of the retiring trapper, the names hog run, horse pocosin, etc., the grazing ground of the herdsman, while land grants and deeds indicate the advent of the farmer. Visualization of these processes in the settlement of our country is always helpful to those interested in state or national history; it also adds color and value to the narrative for those interested in purely local affairs.

Much more detailed information may be had and is desirable concerning the last stages of industrial development, the agricultural and manufacturing. From the angle of state and national, as well as purely local affairs, studies of the following topics would be of inestimable value: the average size of farms in various epochs of the county's history, the number of slaves and the nature of white tenancy prior to 1860, the products and the method of marketing them, and the agricultural changes since 1865. Likewise the rise of manufactures should be traced from the grist and lumber mills to the modern factory. The whole subject of economic history, county by county, is full of possibilities, for the economists and the sociologists are more and more deserting their theories for the study of industrial transformations in small communities or units. Yet in none of our county histories can there be found an analysis of the ante-bellum plantation system or documents illustrating plantation life. In fact, the only documents illustrative of agricultural conditions in the South prior to 1860 and the only study of the agricultural transformation since 1865 have been published by students of general or of state history residing beyond the confines of North Carolina.[6]

The topics thus outlined do not by any means cover the field of county history but they do illustrate the blending of state or regional and local interests. However, they must be treated cross-sectionally, for the history of a county must follow the grand divisions of national history, the Colonial, the Revolutionary, the Federal, the Civil War, the Reconstruction and the contemporary periods. To make more concrete and definite my conception of county investigation, I take the liberty of outlining in detail one cross-section, the period of Reconstruction. The history of the county from 1865 to 1876 should discuss the following subjects:

I. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS.

A. Loss of men and property during the war, based on censuses of 1860, 1870, 1880 and local sources; shifting of population.

[6]Phillips: Plantation and Frontier, Vols. I and II of Documentary History of American Industrial Society. Brooks: The Agrarian Revolution in Georgia, 1865-1912 (University of Wisconsin).

B. Break up of the plantation system, as shown by the census and local records, the rise of white and colored tenancy, the resulting change in products, debts and mortgages, and if possible the influence of the Freedmen's Bureau and the legislation of 1866 on labor.

C. The rise of manufactures to 1880; pointing out the nature of manufactures in 1860, 1870, 1880, the new industries, influence of foreign capital if any; the rise of new towns; the number, sex and wages of the employees.

D. Transportation: The railways in 1860, 1870, 1880; if any increase, the method by which attained.

E. White and negro population, 1860, 1870, 1880.

II. The Churches During Reconstruction.

A. The number, denomination, and membership in 1860.

B. Membership during the war and during Reconstruction; changes in customs.

C. Separation of the races; rise of the negro church.

III. Educational Development.

A. Public and private schools in 1860.

B. Appropriation for schools during the war; fate of the academies; collapse of the ante-bellum school system.

C. The revival of the public school.

D. Academies since the war.

E. Rise of the negro school, public and private.

IV. County Government.

A. The Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions from the opening of the war until its abolition in 1868.

B. Special governing boards, if any.

C. Rise of the modern form of county government under the Constitution of 1868.

D. The advent of city charters.

E. State courts and military courts during Reconstruction.

V. Secret Organizations.

A. Background; the Freedmen's Bureau; military government; economic and social changes.

B. The Red Strings and the war societies.

C. The Union League.

D. The Ku Klux.

E. Operations of the societies; methods, political activities; riots or outrages; investigations; decadence.

VI. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT.

A. Party alignment in 1860 and 1861.
B. Political activity during the war; legislative, gubernatorial and Confederate elections.
C. The Convention of 1865, the gubernatorial and legislative elections of 1865.
D. Parties and elections of 1867.
E. The county in the Convention of 1868.
F. Politics, 1868-1876.

VII. SKETCHES OF LEADERS IN POLITICS AND INDUSTRY.

This outline for the Reconstruction period of county history is more than experimental and tentative. It has been used with good results at the University of Mississippi and at Trinity College in this State.[7] The possibilities of county history in other periods might be sketched, as, for instance, in that profound industrial and social transformation since 1876. However, as this chapter borders on the domain of that newest and most fascinating of the social sciences, Rural Economics and Sociology, I refrain, and pass on to the next division of my remarks, the question of bibliography for county history.

II.

The principal sources may be classified as manuscript and printed. Each group deserves some consideration.

A. MANUSCRIPT.

I. The county archives, consisting of the proceedings of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions and its successor, the board of county commissioners; the deeds in the register's office; the wills filed by the clerk; the tax lists on the sheriff's books, etc. These have been compared by Mr. Nash to the dry bones in the incomparable vision of Ezekiel, which the "historian's enlightened but restrained imagination" may clothe "with sinews and flesh and life." They are of inestimable value to the genealogist and the biographer; they also indicate the section of a county first settled, the intellectual and economic character of the settlers, the course of roads, the construction of bridges and mills, litigation, and the growth of wealth, the truth or falsity of traditions, and numerous facts unexpected and undreamed of by the searcher after truth. How little have they been used! A gentleman actively engaged in county investigation ventures the assertion that "not in an old county of the State has every record been perused from its establishment to 1850." One of the paramount needs is a manual of methodology for county archives

[7]See Publications of the Mississippi State Historical Society, Vols. XI, XII; Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society, Series X.

which will give a summary of the kind of material that one may expect to find in each class of archives, the best manner of taking notes and making cross-references, and the relation of the archives of the county to those of the county or counties from which it was formed, and other pertinent matters.

II. The legislative, executive and judicial archives, the manuscript records in Raleigh in the offices of the Governor, the executive officers and the Supreme Court,—a vast array of petitions, rejected bills, official communications, letters, account books, military rosters and court records, which have never been classified or indexed. Some day, let us hope, the State will realize their value and have them arranged and calendared. Until then every investigator, whether of county or general state history, must fish in troubled waters.

III. Records of churches, institutions, and societies. These are of course of miscellaneous character and vary from county to county. A search must be made for them. Let me illustrate the danger of overlooking them. Several years ago the history of a county was written in which there were a few remarks about its anti-slavery sentiment. Unknown to the writer there existed in that county the minutes of one of the most remarkable anti-slavery organizations in the entire South, containing enough material to make a chapter in themselves. But they were unknown to the author, and that chapter in the county's history remained to be written.

IV. Private correspondence; diaries, account books, plantation records, etc. How often are these destroyed. A few years ago the personal effects of one of the contractors who helped to build an important railway in North Carolina were sold by his executors. A fine chest of drawers was bought; the purchaser, finding it full of papers and letters, emptied the contents on the ground and burned them. Who can tell the loss thus sustained to the history of Rowan County?

B. Printed Sources.

I. Laws of North Carolina, sessional. These contain a vast amount of information that has never been thoroughly explored. For example, in the private acts can be found the licenses to build roads and bridges, the charters of academies, manufacturing companies and Masonic lodges, provisions for local government, taxation, patrols and care of the poor, the foundation of libraries, the holding of courts, and numerous other matters which interpret life in the past. A complete file of the laws is rare, hardly to be found except in our larger libraries. Moreover there is no general index to them. Some patriotic citizen with an antiquarian taste could place all local historians under a lasting

debt of gratitude by publishing a calendar of the material for county history in the public and private laws.

II. The Public Documents of North Carolina are also a vast storehouse of information, the publication of which was begun in 1836. They contain the reports of the State Treasurer and Comptroller, messages of the Governors, reports of railway and plank road companies, and of committees. In the Comptroller's reports can be found the amount of taxes paid by each county, in 1854 the value of lands county by county, in 1856 and after the amount of local taxes, and in 1863 the first valuation of slave property. The appropriations for public schools and the condition of the banks are also given in the Comptroller's Reports. A complete check list of the contents of the public documents relating to counties is, I think, impossible; but there is a valuable help to their use in Bowker's "State Publications."

III. The Journals of the Legislature are also important, for in them can be traced the attitude of the county's representatives on such important measures as railroad bills, public appropriations, resolutions concerning State's rights and slavery, personal liberty and constitutional questions during the war, as well as purely local matters. The same may be said for the journals of constitutional conventions.

IV. Records of church bodies, churches, lodges, commercial organizations and societies of various kinds.

V. Publications of the United States Government, notably the Census, the War of the Rebellion Records, the Ku Klux Report, the Report of the Reconstruction Committee, and the reports of the engineers, which contain a vast amount of information relating to economic, social, military and political history.

VI. Newspapers. A file of a county newspaper, when available, bears to the historian the same relation that a rich vein does to the miner of gold. Unfortunately files are rare, there being few in the State Library prior to 1880. I wish that some librarian with an antiquarian interest would make a check list of the North Carolina newspapers in the libraries of the State, of educational institutions, and of individuals, and also those in the great collections of the North and West. Let me add that some of the national papers in the old days contain valuable information regarding local affairs in North Carolina, notably *Niles' Register*.

III.

Finally, how can the cause of county history be aided? Let us remember, first of all, that the historical, like the literary impulse, cannot be grown by hothouse methods; it obeys no law, and like the wind, it blows where it listeth. I will go further and assert that history is a

branch of literature, one of the arts as much as poetry and fiction. It has, however, this distinction, that while it is an art in its purpose, its method is scientific. Herein lies the opportunity of an organization like the State Literary and Historical Society to be of service; it may furnish an outline and guide for gathering and organizing material; in other words, we can formulate a method for county history work, which, we may hope, will attract now and then the genius of the literary artist. I therefore suggest that this Society appoint a committee to prepare a guide for the study and writing of county history in North Carolina. Such a work, when made accessible to classes in American history, literary clubs, libraries and individuals, may, in the providence of the muses, bring results in more numerous and more comprehensive county histories. In one other way can this organization be of service. It can give, each year, right of way in its program to studies in county history. Such a policy will assure recognition for investigators of county history; it will also give a permanent and solid value to the society's publications.

The Vital Study of a County

BY E. C. BRANSON, PROFESSOR OF RURAL ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA.

In prefatory way, I desire to congratulate the State Literary and Historical Society upon the rare vision and wisdom of its plan to assemble, interpret, and preserve in worthful, literary form the history of North Carolina, county by county.

The consciousness of well characterized group-personality is strong in North Carolinians; so strong that it is strange and astonishing to people in New England, Minnesota, Illinois and other States where our annual Carolina Day and Community-service Week have so greatly challenged attention and comment. It is less strange in California, Kansas, Kentucky or Virginia, where a similar pride in the home State has always been an informing force in individual and civic development. Love of State is not a childish, trivial something; it is an indispensable factor in the building of character.

Denmark is a conspicuous modern instance of local patriotism as a national asset. The thing that most impresses a visitor in the Danish Folkschulen is not the agriculture or the home economics, but the local folk-lore, the home-bred myth, song, and story, the chronicles of Danish heroism, patriotism and achievement that fill the teaching of literature and history to overflowing.

Denmark is recited and sung in every class every day. Her agriculture is wonderful, but her blazing national consciousness goes further toward explaining her rise into greatness in the last half century. Danish patriotism is not narrowly parochial and provincial. It is intense, but it is broadly intelligent.

The Carolina Day exercises in our schools impress visitors from other States in quite the same way. "I am sorry to say there is nothing like this in my home State," said a New Englander in North Carolina on the fourth of last December.

Be it said to the honor of North Carolina, there never was a time when a North Carolinian could be a gentleman and be ignorant of the history of his mother State. Familiar, loving acquaintance with the home county and the home State is a necessary foundation for effective citizenship.

THE REARWARD LOOK.

The vital study of a county is the study of what is vital in a county. It is a study of the big, main things, the causal, significant, conse-

quential things in community life. Things that are trivial and superficial, incidental and inconsequential have small place in such a study. If so be they indicate the characteristic mood, humor or temper of a people, they have a very large place in an interpretative study; but not otherwise.

First of all, it ought to begin with the rearward look. What the county was day before yesterday is related to what it will be day after tomorrow. What lasts on and on in any community grows straight out of the nature of human nature in that community.

An understanding of the economic, social, and civic life of a county or a country calls for acquaintance with the historical background; with origins, resources, advantages, obstacles, occupations and industries, racial strains, noteworthy events and achievements, localities and memorials, with community-building leaders, with notable, noble personages and their contributions to the industrial or spiritual wealth of the county. The field under survey ought not to be cluttered up with trifles light as air, however interesting or appealing to family pride.

A county history now on my desk well illustrates what a county history ought not to be. It is big and bulky, exhaustive and exhausting. It is descriptive merely. It is crowded with trivialties that signify nothing; with names and places, items and details that were not worth recording. They confuse one's sense of values. They lead into no conclusions large or small. It is occasionally interesting and charming. It is full of things curious, fantastic, and bizarre; but hardly worth one's while for instruction or inspiration. It is, I may say, one of the many histories of the New England Berkshires.

THE ROUND-ABOUT AND THE FORWARD LOOK.

But the vital study of a county also calls for the round-about and the forward look. It is a homespun study of community forces, agencies and influences, tendencies, drifts and movements that have made the history we study today and that fatefully are making the history our children will be studying tomorrow.

It is examining the economic and social forces that operate in the small, familiar area of the home county. They are forces that have something like the steady, fateful pull and power of gravitation or any other natural law. They are creating opportunities or obstacles. They are making or marring community life. They need to be definitely known and to be harnessed for beneficent uses, as we harness electricity for traction, light and warmth.

It means a study of community resources and their development; of populations and occupations; of economic classes and conditions; of

factors in the production and retention of community wealth; of the economic surplus and its relation to the self-sustaining, self-protecting, self-elevating abilities of the community; of market and credit conditions; of organization and coöperation; of facilities for communication and transportation; of homes and home conditions; of public health and sanitation; of recreations and amusements; of school, church and Sunday School conditions and problems.

It is a study of the near, the here, and the now; of the every-day, work-a-day problems of life. Many of them are persistently nagging, harrying and harassing. Every minute of every day they call for solution.

It is not only a vital but a vitalizing study. Intimate, competent knowledge of the home community, county, and State means real education and culture, stimulation and preparation for effective citizenship. It quickens social conscience and civic courage.

The right of suffrage—the careless reverie of voting, as Gerald Stanley Lee calls it—is not the essence of citizenship; genuine, generous concern about community welfare and well-being is.

Charles Edgeworth Jones, once upon a time, wrote about "The Dead Towns of Georgia." It is a significant title. Every State has its dead towns and dead counties; dead as Dickens said Mr. Marley was—dead as a door nail. Other counties are half-awake, half-asleep, half-alive, half-dead. Others are building prosperity upon insecure economic foundations. Others are winning a prosperity that is substantial, safe and abiding.

Is the home county marking time, moving forward or lagging toward the rear? What are the causes? What are the consequences? What are the remedies? What means and measures are worth proposing to check decline and decay, or to promote real progress and prosperity?

The vital study of a county finds answers to these and many more questions of similar sort. They are important, worth-while problems, and a competent grasp of them makes for efficient social service and effective civic effort.

Compare a county with itself during the last census period, in the important concerns of economic and social development, and rank it with the other counties of the State, and the results are arresting—sometimes startling. But also, the response makes every social nerve tense and taut—that is to say, if the student be capable and worthy of real citizenship.

THE METHOD.

Bulletin No. 9, issued by the Extension Bureau of the University of North Carolina, is entitled Home-County Club-Studies. It shows in

brief, definite detail just how to make a vital study of the home county. The County Clubs, and the North Carolina Club at the University, are studying the State as a whole, and county by county. They are following the outlines of this little bulletin. One county is organizing for a still larger survey of its economic and social conditions and problems.

Correspondence Courses in home-county studies are offered by the University for a trifling registration fee. Extra-campus clubs and individual students here and there in the State are undertaking these studies.

The vital study of a county leads into a new field of learning. In the University of North Carolina the State itself has become a distinct curriculum concern, and occupies the entire time and attention of a department head.

The history and the economic resources of the State have always been explored and exploited at the University. The work of the new department concerns the economic and social puzzles and problems of the State, their causes, consequences, and remedies. Together the departments of history, economics, and sociology are concentrated upon the rearward, the round-about and the forward look; upon the North Carolina that was, and is, and is to be.

The vital study of a county will concern county history, but also county economics and sociology. Such a study can hardly fail to be both vital and vitalizing.

How Can We Secure the Writing of County Histories?

BY MISS ADELAIDE FRIES, SECRETARY OF THE WACHOVIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

In studying the subject assigned for discussion this afternoon my thoughts have centered on four points as being of chief importance.

1. *The writer.* It has been suggested that the material for each county history might be gathered by a number of people, and that it might be put together by an expert brought into the county for that purpose. Now, if you will pardon my saying so, it seems to me that the result of such a compilation would lack one very important feature—an understanding love of the county. The writer of a county history should have a very real love for his county, should understand it and its people, and that understanding an outside expert, no matter how well equipped otherwise, could not be expected to bring to his work.

Of course love alone is not sufficient for the writer of history. He should have a fondness for research, accuracy, a good sense of proportion, skill in expression, and I should like to add one gift which is strangely lacking in many historians—the ability to see an incident from the standpoint of those who took part in it; not to judge it only by its results, not to weigh it by twentieth century standards, but to see it also through the eyes of the men and women to whom it was not history but a part of life.

2. *Material.* Very little can be done without material on which to work, so to begin with every county should have had the foresight to select as pioneer settlers men who kept good records! I admit that I do not see how failure in this respect is to be remedied now, but as I have read the diaries and minute books in the Salem Archives, to which our president has referred, I have greatly pitied the county whose records are only to be found in the courthouse. Deeds and mortgages, marriage licenses and wills, need to be supplemented by pictures of the daily life of the people, such as Wachovia has back to 1752.

3. *Sympathy.* In the third place, I would suggest that each county supply two or three people who will give the writer sympathetic interest. I do not mean an interest that is willing to attend a historical society meeting once a year to listen to a few papers, but an interest that is willing to talk things over at any and every time. For historical research is lonesome work! You sit hour after hour, day after day, digging in the dust of ages and not knowing what you will find. Perhaps you are reading a diary, the handwriting suddenly changes, and the next entry informs you that the preceding writer has been ill for several days and has just died, with what is evidently typhus fever. And

you drop the book, and wish there was somebody by to assure you that the germs, too, have been dead for a hundred years. Or you are turning the pages of an ancient copy of the Acts of the North Carolina Assembly, you suddenly begin to sneeze, you realize that you have just made your first acquaintance with the snuff of your forefathers, but there is no one near to share your laugh! Or—if you will pardon one more reminiscence—sometimes you find a treasure. I was dusting and sorting a most uninteresting pile of old magazines when I suddenly found a package tied up in a newspaper, yellow with age and somewhat torn. Under the string was a sheet stating that these were papers used by Br. Traugott Bagge in the preparation of his sketch of the Revolutionary War. Some of you will remember that a few years ago a manuscript was found containing a reference to the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, and that by internal and collateral evidence I was able to prove that it was written by Traugott Bagge, merchant, of Salem, in 1783. And here I had suddenly stumbled on a package of the papers he had used, probably unopened since the day he tied the string! I stood it about fifteen minutes, then put on my hat and hurried off to find some one to rejoice with me, knowing full well that I would be met with the sympathy for which I am pleading for all our writers.

4. *Publication.* It would be a great incentive toward the writing of county histories if some provision could be made for their publication, for every writer wants an audience, and printer's bills mount up so alarmingly that many purses cannot stand the strain. It has been suggested that the Historical Commission might be able to have the histories printed, and if they are included in its regular volumes I would suggest that while the article is in type the author be allowed to have as many copies as he wishes struck off, he to pay for the extra paper and labor and for the binding. Or if the Commission could print them in separate volumes, and have the Commissioner of Education put them into the public schools of the counties of which they treat, the expense would be quickly covered. But if either of these plans is followed care should be taken that only satisfactory histories are accepted for publication. The Board of Editors, whose appointment has been suggested this afternoon, should pass upon the literary form, and I think for each history approved they should associate with themselves two or three well-informed citizens of the county under consideration, who would be competent to say whether from a local standpoint the work had been accurately done. For after all a county history to be successful must appeal to the people of that county, not as a compilation of valuable but dry facts but as the true, sympathetic, human story of its life since its beginning.

How Can We Secure the Writing of County Histories?

BY W. C. JACKSON, PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE STATE NORMAL AND INDUSTRIAL COLLEGE.

Edmund Burke once said that "It generally argues some degree of natural impotence of mind, or some want of knowledge of the world, to hazard plans of government except from a seat of authority." The remark is applicable to plans other than those of government; and as I am about to hazard a plan of action, and that not from a seat of authority, the peculiar force of Burke's statement is keenly realized. Inasmuch, however, as my plan contains some features that have had authoritative sanction, I am encouraged to present it.

I am forbidden by my instructions, as well as by inclination, to indulge in a discussion of the importance of writing county histories, the character of the histories to be written, and the joys—or lack thereof—of this kind of work. My specific task is to talk about how to quit talking about getting this work done and actually get it done. And I shall attempt to confine myself to this task.

Let me say by way of approach to the details of the plan that there are certain facts that we will do well to keep steadfastly in mind. The first of these is that we must avoid the errors of the past, and prepare a different kind of history to those that we now have. This does not mean that all that has been done is bad. Far from it. Some of the work has been well done, but only a small part of it. This defective work of the past is due in large measure to the fact that those who did it, although imbued with a great love for their county and their work, were not trained in the writing of history. And by "trained" I do not mean to imply only college and university men. Many men have been trained for this work in other schools than colleges and universities. We want our future histories prepared by people who are thoroughly qualified to do it, however they may have acquired such qualifications.

We must also keep in mind the fact that our biggest problem at present is the collection of the material for these histories. In not a single county in the State, I dare say, is sufficient material in hand for the writing of the county's history. The collection of this material will be a long and arduous work; yet it is, of course, absolutely prerequisite to the accomplishment of the task ahead of us.

This means that it will be a long time before our plans may come to fruition. It is necessary to possess our souls of much patience as we contemplate the work before us.

One other fact should be kept in mind, namely, that while we should endeavor to promote this work in every county in the State by enlisting interest in preserving material and otherwise furthering the movement, we should concentrate our immediate efforts upon a few of the most important counties, when every minute of delay means a loss.

I beg to submit to the consideration of this Association the following plan as a tentative program for actually bringing to pass some of the ideas we are discussing: That the North Carolina Historical Commission appoint a sub-committee or sub-commission, consisting of three members, whose duty it shall be to do definite and specific work in the matter of securing the writing of county histories. I beg leave to suggest some of the work that this committee might undertake.

1. *Preparation and publication of a pamphlet or bulletin on county history.*

This should discuss the scope and character of a county history; give a good outline; describe material, source, secondary, etc.; give suggestions as to where and how to get material, and what to do with it after it is secured, etc., etc. This would serve as an excellent guide for all our work, and would tend toward a certain degree of uniformity. It would undoubtedly give great impetus to this work throughout the State. It might also serve to prevent younger counties making the errors of our fathers, by getting them started on the problem now, and perhaps some of them would accomplish something.

2. *The organization of county historical associations.*

I believe that a large part of the task of collecting the material for our county histories, and the financing of the work, can and ought to be done through county associations. Let members of this committee either go themselves or secure good representatives to go to various counties and assist in the organization of these associations, or give encouragement and assistance to existing associations.

There are a number of things such an association could do. First, through fees, private subscriptions, coöperation with city and county boards of commissioners, and otherwise, it can finance this work, both in the collection of material and the publication of the completed work. I do not believe that it will be difficult to get a real good book published.

Another thing it can do is to aid in the collection of material. Many people who have good material in their possession are very chary about parting with it. It will often be possible for a local person to secure valuable material when the State itself or any other collector could never get it. There is an abundance of uncollected matter such as letters, pictures, deeds, wills, land grants, pamphlets, etc., etc., in every old county that should be collected and properly preserved. I am con-

vinced that a good association through its membership could get much of this material.

Again, the participation in such a work by a large number of people possesses an educational value to the entire community, for the entire county might be more or less interested and helped.

3. *Enlisting the coöperation of all libraries in the State, public and private, especially in the preservation of material.*

After all, it is largely through our libraries that this work must be done; and at present some of the libraries are not alive to the importance of saving material. Every library in the State, in so far as it can, ought to save every piece of printed matter that comes into its hands.

4. *In securing well-trained men to act as editors-in-chief of these histories, with assistant editors.*

This is my idea: Most of the men in this State capable of writing a good county history are too busy to do it. But some of them are not too busy to superintend the work. If such men could be given the assistance of the Historical Commission, of live county associations, and associates who could do special portions of the work, they would agree to act as editors-in-chief. I believe these associates can be secured. Some person who cannot write the county's history may be able to write its religious, social, educational, political or economic history. One might have the ability, the time, and the inclination under such circumstances to undertake some part of this work, but would not do more than this particular part. With an editor-in-chief, all such work might be effected and correlated properly, and the entire work in time brought to successful accomplishment.

I believe that the colleges of the State, also, can and will participate in this work. Guilford, Trinity, and Wake Forest could get the religious history, for example, of some counties. The economic history of a number of counties could surely be worked out at the State University. I can vouch for some of this work being done at the State Normal College.

This, very briefly and very generally, is the plan I beg to submit for your consideration. As to the possibility of its fulfillment, permit me to say that one of the best historians in the State gave me the assurance that under such a plan he would undertake to act as an editor-in-chief. From conversations with interested individuals in my own county, I am persuaded that, barring the finding of a better way, this plan could be successfully carried out. I entertain the hope that out of our common counsel there may come some definite and practical plan of immediate action.

CONFERENCE ON NORTH CAROLINA LITERATURE

The Projected History of North Carolina Literature

By President Archibald Henderson.

On December 4, 1912, I had the honor to propose the following resolution at the thirteenth annual session of this body—a resolution which was formally adopted:

> That this Association appoint a committee, consisting of five members, men and women, to consider the problem of our State literature, and to endeavor to secure the person or persons best qualified by reason of talent and aptitude, to prepare a history of the literature of North Carolina.

This program today is arranged in furtherance of that plan. We are met together to take brief inventory of North Carolina's literary contribution. It is not our purpose to prove that North Carolina was first at Parnassus, furthest on Pegasus, and last at the Pierian Spring. We desire, primarily, not to praise, but to appraise, accurately and judiciously, the work of North Carolina writers throughout our history—in historical writing, in fiction, in oratory, in balladry, and in poetry. The general subject of criticism, of the essay, and of miscellaneous prose covers a field too vast to be surveyed within the limits of our program.

It cannot be doubted that North Carolina's literary output has never been appreciated, has not as yet even been known or realized—since it has never been presented *en masse*. Any State in the Union might well be proud of an honor roll which includes such names, in history and biography, as Ashe, Bassett, Battle, Boyd, Cheshire, Connor, Hamilton, Haywood, Nash, Poe, Raper, Taylor, and Weeks—all living; in fiction, as Thomas Dixon, O. Henry, Christian Reid, Margaret Busbee Shipp, and Albion W. Tourgee; in poetry, as John Henry Boner, Mary Bayard Clarke, Edwin W. Fuller, Theophilus H. Hill, John Charles McNeill, Benjamin Sledd, Henry Jerome Stockard; in the field of the orator and the publicist, as Edwin A. Alderman, Hinton Rowan Helper, Walter H. Page; in criticism and the essay, Irwin Avery, Herman Harrell Horne, Edwin Mims, Charles Alphonso Smith.

A deeply felt need in North Carolina is the need for a "History of North Carolina Writers and Writings." I desire above all things touching our literary life that this conference today may have tangible results in a volume or series of volumes, scholarly in treatment, critical

in tone, presenting in an orderly and dignified way the true history of the literature of North Carolina.

When that task is accomplished and the literary contribution of North Carolina made known to all, we may rest assured that, in the course of time, North Carolina writers will find their true place, high or low—whatever it may truly be—in the history of American literature.

Henry Jerome Stockard

By James Y. Joyner, State Superintendent of Public Instruction.

From his home in Raleigh, September 4, 1914, the soul of Henry Jerome Stockard, teacher, scholar, poet, gentleman, "drifted out to the great Unknown." The story of his earthly life could be briefly told and would differ but little from that of thousands of others in this matter-of-fact world. It is the story of his inner life—his soul-life, with which we are most concerned; and this we must seek in the songs he sung in the interludes between the scenes of his busy life of toil that left all too little leisure for the full cultivation and use of his rare gift of poesy. The poet's poetry, after all, is his real life, and through that he makes his deathless contribution to the deathless in the life of his fellows; and Henry Jerome Stockard was a poet, a born-poet, a poet whose genius and art were recognized by the leading literary magazines of the country and appreciated by the best poets and critics of poetry of his time.

For convenience in this brief study, I have roughly classified his poetry according to subject-matter and content into five general classes:

I. Poems of Occasion and Patriotism.

II. Poems of Meditation and Sentiment.

III. Poems of Faith, Trust and Spiritual Yearning.

IV. Poems of Nature—Nature Lyrics.

V. Miscellaneous Sonnets and Songs.

I shall content myself with the selection and interpretation of a few representative poems of each of these classes.

It was ever my custom as a teacher of English literature not to talk about the poem and the poet, but to seek by reading aloud to give vocal interpretation of what the poem meant to me, and then let the poem speak for itself and the poet bring his own spiritual message through the reader as a sympathetic medium to the soul of the student.

This, I believe, to be the only true way to teach poetry and to inspire an appreciation and a love of it in others. With your permission I shall pursue this method in this study with you of Stockard's poetry. When you study his or another's poetry, read it aloud, for poetry is thought and feeling set to music, and you miss the music unless you give it vocal interpretation, as you miss the music of any other great song when you but silently read the black notes of the printed page. I detest poetical dissection and anatomy. "The letter killeth, the spirit maketh alive."

I. POEMS OF OCCASION AND PATRIOTISM.

Stockard was preëminently the Poet Laureate of his State and his people. His love of both throbs in many of his noblest poems of Occasion and Patriotism. His gift of song was first of all consecrated to the service and pleasure of his own State and her people. He was ever ready upon request to lay his muse under tribute for the public celebration of any notable event in the history of his State and for fittingly honoring the memory and deeds of her illustrious sons. Among the poems illustrative of this first class may be mentioned "The Centennial Sonnet"—prepared for the centennial celebration of the University of North Carolina, the poems read at the unveiling of the McIver monument and of the Horne monument to the Women of the Confederacy. Perhaps, however, the most notable of the poems of this class is "The Last Charge at Appomattox":

Scarred on a hundred fields before,
Naked and starved and travel-sore,
  Each man a tiger, hunted,
They stood at bay, as brave as Huns,
Last of the Old South's splendid sons,
Flanked by ten thousand shotted guns,
  And by ten thousand fronted.

Scorched by the cannon's molten breath,
They'd climbed the trembling walls of death
  And set their standards tattered—
Had charged at the bugle's stirring blare
Through bolted gloom and godless glare
From the dead's reddened gulches, where
  The searching shrapnel shattered.

They formed—that Carolina band—
With Grimes, the Spartan, in command,
  And, at the word of Gordon,
Through splintered fire and stifling smoke—
They struck with lightning's scathing stroke
Those doomed and desperate men—and broke
  Across that iron cordon.

They turned in sullen, slow retreat,—
Ah, there are laurels of defeat!—
  Turned for the Chief had spoken;
With one last shot hurled back the foe,
And prayed the trump of doom to blow,
Now that the Southern stars were low,
  The Southern bars were broken.

Some time the calm, impartial years,
Will tell what made them dead to tears
  Of loved ones left to languish;—
What nerved them for the lonely guard,
For cleaving blade and mangling shard,
What gave them strength in tent and ward
  To drain the dregs of anguish.

But the far ages will propound
What never Sphinx had lore to sound—
  Why in such fires of rancor,
The God of Love should find it meet
For Him, with Grant as sledge, to beat
On Lee, the anvil, at such heat,
  Our Nation's great sheet anchor.

In this poem he has reached the high-water mark of patriotic lyrics and has celebrated the heroism of these sons of Carolina in an immortal song that the impartial judgment of posterity will, in my opinion, rank with Tennyson's "Charge of the Light Brigade" and other great lyrics of patriotism of all time.

II. POEMS OF MEDITATION AND SENTIMENT.

Among the characteristic and beautiful poems of this second class may be mentioned "My Pipe":—

When the summer breeze steals thro' the trees
  And the sickle moon is low;
When o'er the hills the whippoorwill's
  Clear flutings come and go;
When the katydid, in the tree-top hid,
  Calls ever across the dark,
And down the marsh where the frogs sing harsh
  The fire-fly lights its spark,—

Then the golden crumbs for me!
  My pipe and reverie!
The voices grand from childhood's land,
  And the scenes that used to be!

When the days are cold, and o'er the wold
  The winds of winter sweep;
When darkness falls, and upon the walls
  The shadows dance and leap;
When the full moon shines thro' the snow-capped pines
  Where the midnight witches brew,
While the embers die and the great owls cry
  Their weird "tu-whit, tu-whoo!"—

Then my pipe and the crumbs of gold!
And the future's gates unfold!
Thro' the lifting haze rise the braver days
That the untried seasons hold!

A CHRISTMAS MEMORY.

The hour is late, the fire is low,
And eery winds from northlands' snow
Around the eaves are moaning;
A spirit roams the world tonight
From land to land, in silent flight,
As fast as flies the dawning.

The snow is tinkling through my blinds;
The owls, hid in the hooded pines,
Their dolorous greetings render;
Back into other years I steal—
A child, at mother's knee I feel
That gracious hand and tender!

I hear— and how my bosom swells!
I hear the neighboring village bells,
Blent with the tempest's booming;
Out in the whirling snow I hear
The muffled tramp of nimble deer—
Old Santa Claus is coming!

The rockets mount with trails of fire
O'er roof and elm and lofty spire—
Up, up to skyward winging;
Thank God for Christmas! Man ne'er grows
So old but that he loves the snows,
And bells of Christmas ringing!

III. POEMS OF FAITH, TRUST AND SPIRITUAL YEARNING.

Illustrative of this third class are:

THE PRAYER OF LIFE.

Lead me, O God! in life's brave early day
While skies are clear and all the world is gay;
So many hurtful blooms my vision greet!
So many paths diverge to lure my feet
Far from thy peaceful, sinless road astray!

And when the morning can no longer stay,
And songs are mute, and noontide's fervent ray
Upon the weary track must fiercely beat,
Lead me, O God!

Nor leave me when the eventide shall lay
Upon life's happy fields its vapors gray:—
Clasp then my hand in thine more close and sweet
Than thou hast ever held it; and, while fleet
The night is falling, down the unknown way
Lead me, O God!

As Some Mysterious Wanderer of the Skies.

As some mysterious wanderer of the skies,
Emerging from the deeps of outer dark,
Traces for once in human ken the arc
Of stupendous curve, then swiftly flies
Out through some orbit veiled in space, which lies
Where no imagination may embark,—
Some onward-reaching track that God did mark
For all eternity beneath his eyes,—
So comes the soul forth from creation's vast;
So clothed with mystery moves through mortal sight;
Then sinks away into the Great Unknown.
What systems it hath seen in all the past,
What worlds shall blaze upon its future flight,
Thou knowest, eternal God, and Thou alone!

The Hand That Binds the Star.

The Hand that binds the star
In its far center, and around it rolls
Through space its worlds, with never halt nor jar,
No less my steps controls.

That same unfailing Hand
Hath led me forth from still eternity,
'Twill guide me onward through star-vistas and
I follow trustingly.

Confusing Cries.

"Past the night's shadows,
Onward, far onward,
Lies the day's glory
Somewhere to sunward!"

"Past the day's splendor,
All things diurnal
Merge into blackness,
Mournful, eternal!"

* * * * * * *

Low lies the darkness
O'er hill and river—
Earth-thrown!—and upward,
Morning forever!

Confusing cries indeed, but the dominant note is divinely optimistic.

IV. POEMS OF NATURE—NATURE LYRICS.

As illustrative of the fourth class I have selected

A LULLABY.

Tonight, embedded deep and warm,
Beyond the reach of sifting snow,
The cows are sheltered from the storm,
So let the north winds blow.
Blow, winds, blow!
O'er land and ocean go!
The cows are sheltered from the storm,
So let the north winds blow!

Beneath the ermined pine trees warm,
The eaves with icicles a-row,
The birds are sheltered from the storm,
So let the north winds blow.
Blow, winds, blow!
O'er land and ocean go!
The birds are sheltered from the storm,
So let the north winds blow!

Beside the blazing ingle warm,
Bathed in the firelight's ruddy glow,
My child is sheltered from the storm,
So let the north winds blow.
Blow, winds, blow!
O'er land and ocean go!
My child is sheltered from the storm,
So let the north winds blow!

In this charming and all but perfect little nature-lyric he has caught and expressed in melodious lines for the delectation of men of tuneful soul the wailing music of the winter winds.

AN EVENING SONG.

The late dove hurtles through the dark,—
Good-night!
The fire-fly strikes its spectral spark,
Comes o'er the hill the watch-dog's bark,
The cows come lowing up the lane,
And homeward comes the lumbering wain,—
Good-night, good-night!

Earth calls her weary ones to rest,—
Good-night!
The sickle moon sinks down the west,
The shadows veil the mountain's crest,
The fires burn low where sunk the sun,
To sleep! The long, long day is done,—
Good-night, good-night!

Where will you find a more peaceful picture of the close of day in the country? With a few strokes of the wizard wand of a true poet he conjures up the scenes through objects inseparably associated with sunset and twilight in the country—"the belated dove," "the fire-fly with its spectral spark," "the barking watch-dog," "the lowing cows," "the lumbering wain homeward bound," "the sickle moon," "the setting sun," "the gathering shadows." The music of his verse is artistically attuned to the softly dying sounds of evening until you feel at last the silence of the darkness falling upon the world—"Good-night; good-night!"

THE AMERICAN EAGLE.

This is an exquisite bit of masterful description and of felicitous and delicately tinted diction—a sort of poetical mosaic work. It is a fine example of adaptation of sound to sense, what the rhetoricians call onomatopoeia. Observe the fine effects of the following: "preens," "thunder shocks," "scream of shells," "shriek," "his wings whiz," "his claws gride," "his beak doth tear," "glares," "with sun-outstaring eyes."

The freedom, the fierceness, the boldness, the courage of the untamed and untamable spirit of the eagle are incarnated in this little poem symbolic of the spirit of the United States.

The American Eagle.

Brooded on crags, his down the rocks,
  He holds the skies for his domain:
Serene he preens where thunder shocks
  And rides the hurricane.

The scream of shells is in his shriek;
  As swords, his wings whiz down the air;
His claws, as bayonets, gride; his beak,
  As shrapnel-shards, doth tear.

Where Shasta shapes its mighty cone,
  Where Mitchell heaves into the skies,
Silent he glares, austere, alone,
  With sun-outstaring eyes!

V. MISCELLANEOUS SONNETS AND SONGS.

Stockard perhaps excelled all his contemporaries as a writer of sonnets, and in the opinion of many competent critics some of his sonnets are among the best in the language. Notable among these are his sonnets on

SHAKESPEARE.

He heard the Voice that spake and unafraid,
  Beheld at dawning of primeval light
  The systems flame to being, move in flight
Unmeasured, unimagined and unstayed.
He stood at nature's evening and surveyed
  Dissolved worlds—saw uncreated night
  About the universe's depth and height
Slowly and silently forever laid.
Down the pale avenues of death he trod
  And trembling gazed on scenes of fate that chilled
  His blood, and for a breath his pulses stilled,—
Then clouds from sun-bright shores a moment rolled
And blinded glimpsed he One with thunder shod
Crowned with the stars, and with the morning stoled!

HOMER.

That conjuring name doth change the centuries,
And the enchanted pagan world restore!
  Old Triton and the Nereids sport before
Poseidon's chariot storming down the seas.
Pan blows his mellow reed, and to the breeze
  The nautilus unfurls his sail once more;
  While silver voices wake the waters o'er
'Mid asphodels on Anthemusia's leas.
I hear the Odyssey and Iliad rise
  With deeper rhythm than that of Chios' surge,
  And there upon the blue Ægean's verge,
  Unchanging while the centuries increase,
After three thousand years, before me lies
  The unveiled shore of old sea-cinctured Greece.

IMAGINATION.

Back through the chaos of the primal past,
  Upon unfailing wings she takes her flight,
  Or sounds the future's universal night
'Mid worlds to elements resolved at last.
The gates of death unclose and down the vast
  Cloud-builded stairs she faces shapes that fright,
  Or wanders through Elysium's fields of light—
For she would fain all pang, all bliss forecast!—
  But she shall never on life's bourne—ah me!
If ever on that distant unknown shore!—
  Preen her adventurous pinions to explore
The date of Him before whose veiled face
  The universe, with its eternity,
Is but a mote, a moment poised in space!

The Unattained.

The marble, bosomed in the mountain hoar,
  Holds in its heart, waiting some hand most skilled,
  Forms featured fairer yet than that which thrilled
And moved beneath Pygmalion's touch of yore.
The instrument's keys await a grander score
  Than that whose faintest echoes, haply, chilled
  Mozart with rapture, and an instant stilled
His breath, then died away forevermore.
There is a scene no painter ever feigned,
  Of Eden's restful fields—lost visions loved!—
  Dead shores where tempests hoarse, Titanic roll;
A song unsung more sweet than that which chained
  The heart of Hades' King—than ever moved
  The subtlest chord of Shakespeare's lofty soul.

Mollusks.

Down where the bed of oceans sinks profound,
  Lodged in the clefts and caverns of the deep
  Where silence and eternal darkness keep,
These dumb primordial living forms abound.
What know they of this life in the vast round
Of earth and air? How wild the pulses leap
At love's sweet dream—what storms of sorrows sweep,
What hopes allure us and what terrors hound?
And scattered on these slopes and plains below
  This atmospheric sea, one with the worm
  And beetle, for a momentary term—
  What know we more of those ethereal spheres—
What rapture may be there, what poignant woe,
  What towering passions, and what high careers?

Even the most insignificant of God's creation hidden deepest from the eye of man can bring to his poet's heart and imagination thoughts that lie too deep for tears. This poem will not suffer by comparison with Holmes' famous "Chambered Nautilus," and I am not sure but that it excels it in depth of spiritual suggestion.

Through these representative poems of the different sorts of his poetry, I have sought to let the poet interpret himself, because I believe this to be the best, and, in fact, the only way to understand and to appreciate any poet. I commend to all of you that love real literature a further study of Stockard's poetry. It will well repay you. I am ashamed through all my being that I did not appreciate and enjoy him more while he lived, because I had not studied him more. I expect my experience is that of most of you and of most other North Carolinians. It is the melancholy fate of most real poets to be neglected by their own generation, to have to wait for another generation for that appreciation

which they need so much and for which their sensitive souls so yearn while living. The sad consciousness of this may in part account for that undertone of sadness that is rarely absent from Stockard's poetry, or from the greatest poetry of any true poet. "Our sweetest songs are ever those that tell of saddest thought."

"Fugitive Lines," issued in 1897, is the only collection in permanent form of Stockard's poems. Many of his best poems were written after that. Of these there is no collection in permanent form and many of them will be lost unless some steps are taken to preserve them in such form. I am informed that the poet at the time of his death had about completed arrangements for the issuance of a new volume of his poems. This Association can undertake no worthier and more serviceable task than that of guaranteeing the publication of this volume. I feel sure that a committee could easily secure enough subscribers to cover the expense of its publication. In his essay on Burns, Carlyle has truly said: "A true poet, a man in whose heart resides some effluence of wisdom, some tone of the 'Eternal Melodies,' is the most precious gift that can be bestowed upon a generation."

In conclusion, I beg simply to call attention to some of the characteristics of Stockard's poetry illustrated, as you must have observed for yourselves, in the few representative poems of his read in your hearing today. Seriousness, sometimes sadness, a tender melancholy like that of one whose eye keepeth constant watch over man's mortality, a purity like that of one who constantly and effectually prayeth to the Pure God, "Let the words of my mouth and the meditation of my heart, be acceptable in Thy sight," a loftiness that often rises to sublimity: these are among the fine characteristics of his poetry, that give permanency and charm to it and mark him as a true poet.

Like Burns and Whittier, he has the poet's gift to see the beauty in commonplace things, sometimes where no eye before has seen it, to hear music in commonplace sounds—the hoot of the owl, the croak of the frog, the plaint of the whippoorwill—to catch and voice the echoes of those eternal melodies with which the universe is filled for those whose spiritual ears are not stopped with clay. Many of his lines show a remarkable mastery of melody, and many of his stanzas of that rarer and more difficult gift of exquisite rythm. How graphic and artistic are some of his bits of description! How apt and finished at times his style; showing the unconscious influence of his scholarly study of the Greek and Roman classics and of his daily communion with the masters of English literature!

Henry Jerome Stockard was a genuine poet. He followed the gleam,

> The Light that never was on Sea or Land,
> The consecration and the Poet's Dream.

The North Carolina Historians

By Stephen B. Weeks.

I have been asked to discuss books rather than men, and, so far as possible, to consider them as literature rather than as history. This paper, then, while in part a history of historical writing in North Carolina will emphasize as much as may be the literary and artistic merits of our general historians. It will be confined to the general historians for the reason that the importance and dignity of their subject lends itself more to literary treatment and because the source writers and monographers, intent mainly on results, have been all too careless of form.

No student of this subject, however, could fail to mention Lawson's History of North Carolina, which is both literature and a source book for much of our natural and Indian history. In brightness, vivacity and quickness of apprehension his Journal of a Thousand Miles Travel need not fear comparison with any similar journal. In the same way the Correspondence of James Iredell and the Correspondence and Public Papers of Archibald D. Murphey will hold their own in the matter of grace and elegance of diction and in sustained interest when weighed against other productions. In the Colonial and State Records also are many striking and eloquent passages which show that their authors were neither rude nor illiterate, but men who knew their mother tongue and could use it with force and power.

The writers on special phases of our history really fill a larger space in the historical writings of the State than have those who have entered upon the larger field for they have been more in number and their contributions more numerous.

They divide naturally into two classes. The ante-bellum period is represented by such books as Jones' "Defence," Foote's "Sketches," Caruthers' "David Caldwell" and his "Old North State." Since the war have appeared in this class Bernheim's "Lutheran Settlements," Hunter's "Western North Carolina," Schenck's "North Carolina in 1780-81," Waddell's "A Colonial Officer" and similar books. These writers were strong in presentation, but sometimes weak on facts. They were picturesque and imaginative; they had a feeling that history might be literature even if they were not able to attain that goal. They sought to be interesting and perhaps sometimes sacrificed exactness to form, but nevertheless their purpose was to impart information, not

merely to please with an artistic presentation. The scant literature of that day grew into history rather than into fiction, facts were even with them more than form.

With the revival of letters which is following after the revival of material prosperity there has been a marked advance in the character of the published historical studies. A number of students who have entered the field of local history have had the advantage of modern training in historical methods. Indeed all recent writers have come more or less under the influence of the modern spirit. Unfortunately, however, no one of these scholars has yet ventured into a field wider than that required for the monograph. No one of them has tried his talents in the broader and more general field of State history as a whole. Their historical work, as published, is far in advance of that of their ante-bellum prototypes in completeness of material used, in order, system, clearness of presentation and impartiality of judgment. They are far better writers of history but with them facts are everything, form is nothing, and it may be seriously questioned if their books are up to the standard of the older writers as literary models.

As already intimated, the monograph covers practically the whole historical output of the men who have had modern historical training. These studies reflect clearly the vices of the German school in which they have been trained. Laborious and sometimes painfully accurate, they have been often small minded; in the letter of accuracy they have lost the spirit of history; they have written from a local and not from a world point of view, and they have not always escaped the perils of the new historical method: Excessive devotion to the letter of the documentary material; the absence or the suppression of the historical imagination; belief in von Ranke's theory that it is merely the office of the historian to give facts, that it is not his duty to adorn a tale, point a moral or preach a sermon; sometimes a lack of perspective and in particular a fear that power over language or literary style may call down the awful anathema of being "unscientific" has made many writers of the modern school seek to produce work that is merely scientific and learnedly dull, rather than work that might lay claim to some of the charms of literature.

I would emphasize that this has been a marked tendency with most of the history writers of the last generation. In no sense is it the special mark of our own writers. Much of their work I would willingly put into the scale against similar work done in other States, but the excellencies and the strength of their volumes is in general in their value as history, rather than in their attractiveness as literature.

Those who have undertaken studies covering the whole chronological

life of the State may be divided into two groups: (1) The text-book writers, and (2) those who have undertaken more detailed and serious work.

I. The text-book writers.

Eight persons have undertaken the preparation of books on the history of North Carolina for use in the schools.

Wiley, 1851;
Moore, 1879;
Spencer, 1889;
Alderman, 1896;
Allen, 1901;
McCorkle, 1903;
Connor, 1907;
Hill, 1907.

Taken all in all these school histories have been rather more successful than their more pretentious rivals. Wiley published his Historical Sketches as a part of his very successful and well known "North Carolina Reader, No. 3." [1] It was a well-proportioned, well-written survey of the whole State, prepared for the use of the general reader, but coming no later than the Revolution. Considering the sources then available Dr. Wiley presented a remarkably good picture of the colony. Exceedingly democratic in his own views his main purpose was educational. He wished to make North Carolinians better acquainted with their own State and with each other. In this he succeeded admirably. He seems to have caught the spirit of the State and to have been able to interpret that spirit far better than it had been done before. In this respect he was as fortunate as Bancroft who in the same way caught the spirit of the rising nation and gained thereby an immense popularity and enduring fame. Dr. Wiley emphasized his purpose still further by adding to his historical narrative many extracts, both in prose and verse, from the work of local writers. The result more than justified the author's hopes. The North Carolina Reader reached a circulation of 6,000 copies in two years; it went through five or six editions; along with Wheeler's History it attained a circulation and an influence which apparently no other State publication has ever reached. These two books entered into and became a part of the life of the people and more nearly than any others were they found at every fireside; they were the local literary and historical pabulum on which that generation of North Carolinians was fed; their influence was great and would have been greater but for war. The "Reader" even survived the war for a new edition was issued as late as 1874. It exerted a quiet but immense influence in creating and fostering a new spirit among the masses

[1] Wiley, Calvin H.: The North Carolina Reader (Philadelphia, 1851).

and no greater educational service could be rendered the State in this generation than the careful compilation of a similar volume, with an interpretative sketch of the life of the people and with extracts from the best native writers, the whole work being based on a wide knowledge of the past, a philosophical insight into the relations of cause and effect, an extended knowledge of the literature of the State and an appreciation of what is worth while in that literature.

The disastrous effects of war and Reconstruction forbade other essays in the field of school text-books in history for a generation. Of the next two within this class little need be said. Moore[2] published his School History (1879) before the issue of the first volumes of the Colonial Records and Mrs. Spencer[3] just after (1889). These books are both impossible being swallowed up in utter dreariness. Nothing can be more deadening to the child mind with its budding interest in the history of things local than to be plunged into the dry as dust recital of these little volumes when in the hands of a teacher who knows only the history she can get from their pages.

Indeed the writer of a school history of North Carolina is under peculiar disadvantage. The glory of the State is that it has always stood for the steady development of constitutional liberty and always opposed oppression. Woe to the writer who fails to discover this golden thread in our history, and yet it is not one that lends itself readily to brief and attractive treatment for youthful minds. To them the everlasting struggle for constitutional liberty, the orderly evolution of a governmental system based exclusively on the will of the governed, the "respect for chartered rights and resistance to unjust authority," make but small appeal. Children turn rather to the personal, the individual, the tangible, the heroic. Their appeal is from men of action, not from men of thought; they are doers, not thinkers; it is the mountain peak, the romantic, the picturesque, the *Monstrum, horrendum, informe, ingens cui lumen ademptum* that calls. I can imagine no worse fate for a child, historically speaking, than to be put into a book which does not make this call, and the number of books in the schools which fail at this point is legion, with a teacher who is without imagination, philosophical insight or extensive historical knowledge. Such combinations have done much to destroy historical interest and to crush developing fondness for the past. Poor texts and poor teachers are greater enemies of history than indifference and neglect.

Dr. Alderman's History[4] was a mere sketch written with the lightest touch. He commands mention, however, because of his accuracy in in-

[2]Moore, John W.: School History of North Carolina (Raleigh, 1879).
[3]Spencer, Mrs. Cornelia Phillips: First Steps in North Carolina History (Raleigh, 1889).
[4]Alderman, Edwin A.: A brief History of North Carolina (Boston, 1896).

terpreting the real spirit which has always animated the people of the State.

In school histories the present century has been prolific. Four different writers have undertaken in five different books to present phases of the subject. None of these are without excellencies. Mr. Allen[5] and Mrs. McCorkle[6] sought to select and tell with detail the story of the more striking events in the State's life. Mr. Connor[7] has told these events in the form of a continuous narrative and has also given some of the more important a personal association in the form of brief biographies in his Makers of North Carolina History. The most recent and fullest of all the school histories of the State is the volume by President D. H. Hill,[8] whose work rather surpasses the limits of the ordinary school history and may be counted a connecting link between the briefer and the larger books. It presents an interesting and valuable running narrative of the life of the State; is generally accurate in its statements, is entertaining and readable, and should make a strong appeal by reason of its smooth and well told story.

II. The State Historians and their Work as Literature.

We have now come to a consideration of the eight men who have undertaken to present to the State extended studies of its past. They are thus distinguished from the source writers, from the monographers and from the writers of school histories. They are:

Williamson, 1812;
Martin, 1829;
Murphey, 1825-32;
Wheeler, 1851;
Hawks, 1857-58;
Moore, 1880;
Heitman, 1884-85 and 1897-98;
Ashe, 1908.

Of these eight, one (Murphey) got no further than a most admirable outline. The work of the other seven varies in amount from the thin octavos of Williamson and the short chapters of Heitman to the stout octavo of Ashe with its 748 pages and the two volumes of Hawks with 845 pages. Only one of the eight (Moore) brought his work down to his own day. Williamson got only to the Revolution; this was also the sea mark of Martin and Heitman and practically such for Wheeler, while Hawks stops with 1729 and Ashe with 1783. The school history

[5]Allen, William C.: North Carolina History Stories (Richmond, 1901).
[6]McCorkle, Mrs. Lutie Andrews: Old Time Stories of the Old North State (Boston, 1903).
[7]Connor, R. D. W.: The Story of the Old North State (Philadelphia, 1907); Makers of North Carolina History (Raleigh, 1911).
[8]Hill, Daniel Harvey: Young People's History of North Carolina (Charlotte, 1907).

writers, not having to cover the field so intensively, all brought their work down to the time of publication with the exception of Wiley, who also stops with the Revolution.

The first formal historian of North Carolina was Hugh Williamson,[9] a native of Pennsylvania. He published his work in 1812, 149 years after the permanent organization of government in Albemarle and a generation after the close of the Revolution, all of which shows that the energy and life of the colony and State had been spent in breaking the wilderness and in driving out the enemies of constitutional liberty. The men of Carolina were doers, not thinkers, and lacking a compact, closely knit town organization those who devoted themselves to the spiritual and intellectual necessities of our people were so few in numbers and were so oppressed with distances that they had no time to study the records of the past as those who were laboring in similar fields in New England were so successfully doing.

Dr. Williamson was a resident of North Carolina from about 1777 to 1793. He lived in Edenton, then an intellectual center; he came into contact with the leaders; he was in the Legislature; was a member of the old Continental Congress and of the Federal Convention of 1787, and as such signed the new Federal Constitution; returning to North Carolina, he defended it before the people and was later a member of the new Federal Congress. Notwithstanding these excellent opportunities to master the contemporaneous history of the State, he concludes his history with 1776, just at the time when he was himself becoming an original authority and when he might have spoken with the assurance and certainty of a man who had played no subordinate part. For the next twenty-five years he might have almost written the history of North Carolina as his own autobiography, but instead of describing the things he had seen and been he wasted his talents on an imperfect narrative of a period of which even the sources were then practically unknown.

Without historical training or imagination, without enthusiasm or philosophical insight, Dr. Williamson drones on through his two beautifully printed and typographically artistic volumes with their small rivulet of print meandering through a wide meadow of margin. His history, however, is not entirely without merit, even if he is often a partisan and bitterly hostile to that spirit of democracy which is always and everywhere visible in the history of colonial Carolina and which has made our State largely what it is. His book shows everywhere a strong moral sense, a rugged honesty, a desire to award justice and to punish wrong. Williamson would never have written the colorless type of history advocated by von Ranke, but before the days of Lord Acton

[9]Williamson, Hugh: The History of North Carolina (Philadelphia, 1812, 2 vols.)

preached his doctrine—that it is the duty of the historian to reward with everlasting infamy the doers of wrong. Furthermore, his work will by no means rank lowest in literary form. It is written in terse, vigorous English, impersonal, reserved, controlled and free from the flamboyant oratory which sometimes disfigures the pages of Hawks. After errors in interpretation his main fault seems to be in arrangement and form. Had his work been better arranged, with chapter analysis and section headings, it would have been easier reading and would have left a more lasting impression, even if his facts are not always the most important and best chosen or his perspective as it should be.

The excellencies of Williamson's narrative are brought into further relief by contrast with the History of Francis Xavier Martin[10] published in 1829. Martin reproduces the vices but not the virtues of the earlier book. He covers the same period; writes from the same sources but not so well. He says that his material was collected and the work written before he left North Carolina in 1809. It was published twenty years later with evident additions but apparently without corrections. It has perhaps less to commend it than any other book ever printed on the history of the State. It did not come down to date; it is cast substantially in the form of chronological annals, but without their conciseness and accuracy and is utterly without literary style.

Although so grave and dull this compiler did not hesitate to misrepresent or change the meaning of original sources for the purpose of supporting a theory of his own, as I have elsewhere shown. Critics have sometimes expressed their belief in the trustworthiness of his facts and his industry in gathering them. Two examples will show us the value of their faith: The first newspaper in North Carolina was published by James Davis in December, 1755. Now Martin was himself a printer and publisher in New Bern for more than twenty years; he published a newspaper there; it is entirely possible that he actually used Davis's press; if not acquainted with Davis himself he certainly knew members of his family; it is altogether likely that he had seen copies of the old *North Carolina Gazette* of 1755, yet he is so insufferably careless as to say in his History that the *North Carolina Magazine* of 1764 was the first periodical in the colony. Again, the compilers of the Revised Statutes of 1837 complain in the sharpest language of the blunders both of omission and of commission perpetrated in his compilation of the British Statutes in 1792. Martin had excused himself by saying that he had no guide from which he might learn what had been a part of the law of the colony, and all this apparently in perfect ignorance of the act of 1749 which carefully enumerated what British statutes should in the opinion of the colonial assembly be counted a part of the funda-

[10]Martin, Francis Xavier: The History of North Carolina (New Orleans, 1829, 2 vols.).

mental law of the province. With these examples of aggravated carelessness and ignorance before me my deliberate conclusion is that no statement of Martin, either in his text or in his preface, on any disputed question is worthy of further consideration.

The other name belonging to that generation of historians is that of Archibald D. Murphey,[11] who is admitted to this list because of promise given. In 1825 he presented to the assembly an outline of a proposed history on the most extended plan. It was to be based entirely on source materials which were to be collected by him with the aid of the State. The work itself was to extend to six or eight volumes and was to be far more than a political history of the type of his predecessors. It was to have been a social history, a history of culture, in the widest sense. It was his purpose to discuss the age of discovery and the aboriginal period, to present in detail the history of the colonial period and to follow that with a similar consideration of the life of the State from 1776 to his own day. He would also consider the physical geography and soil, the climate and meteorology, the geology and mineralogy and the botany of the State as well as the various phases of the political and intellectual, religious and economic life. His plan is magnificent in scope, bold in outline and touching in its child-like hope that an assembly of that day might perhaps rise equal to the occasion and support the plans and labors of the enthusiastic scholar. But Murphey was ahead of his time. The assembly gave no aid; no collection of sources was then undertaken and none of his history, with the exception of a few brief sections, was ever written. Murphey died a broken and disappointed man, yet he set in motion events that finally resulted in the compilation and publication of that body of colonial and State records the completion of which we are now celebrating. Verily Murphey builded better than he knew and the published series of our Records is his everlasting monument.

After the publication of Martin in 1829 almost a generation passed before the appearance of another book on the general subject. This appears to be the law of life; every generation seems to demand the interpretation of its past in the light of its present experience. Wheeler's "Historical Sketches"[12] appeared in 1851. Only by courtesy can it be called a history; when measured by historical scholarship and literary form it has been aptly characterized as a jumble of ill-digested material. The colonial period is written in the form of a more or less orderly narrative and is confined mainly to political history; with independence the author apparently undertook to include some of the features of a

[11]Murphey, Archibald D.: Memorial to the General Assembly (Hillsboro, 1825; reprinted in the Historical Review of the North Carolina Colonial and State Records, Vol. 30, pp. 17-22).

[12]Wheeler, John H.: Historical Sketches of North Carolina from 1584 to 1851 (Philadelphia, 1851, 2 vols. in one); Reminiscences and Memoirs of North Carolina and Eminent North Carolinians (Columbus, O., 1884).

social history with the result that his work is neither one nor the other but a mixture of both. The second volume is a combination of biographical sketches, civil lists and original documents. The whole is almost entirely without form or system; it is short and choppy and utterly without grace or literary attractiveness. It swarms with errors; its author seems to have had a positive genius for blundering; it was the butt of many jokes at the time of its publication by men who were wise enough to know its shortcomings but were not industrious enough to publish a better work. The faults of the History reappear also in the Reminiscences published in 1884.

But with all of its shortcomings Wheeler's History became, and remained for many years, the standard work on the history of North Carolina. The books of Williamson, Martin, and Hawks never made the popular appeal of Wheeler. He was the first native historian whose work was published; his sincerity was manifest; his love for the State was boundless; his choppy style an asset rather than a drawback for the disjointed information offered was such in character and form that it could be readily assimilated by the reader. It appealed to the popular consciousness. A large edition[13] was absorbed and, along with Wiley's "Reader," already mentioned, it had a wider influence and did more perhaps towards making the past of the State known to its own people than any other book, and despite its many defects it has been of great service.

Chronologically the next author is Francis L. Hawks, whose two-volume History was published in 1857-58.[14] The first volume deals with the Roanoke colonies only; the second comes no further than the end of the proprietary period in 1729; a third volume was projected to come to the Revolution; and a fourth was to bring the subject to his own day. Dr. Hawks had an immense advantage over his predecessors. He was able to make use of the materials collected by Mr. Bancroft, he had himself gathered much relating to the history of the colonial church, and the material within the State was being brought together and put into usable shape. He had had much experience in literary work and he enjoyed the valuable criticisms of Governor Swain. The plan on which his second volume is developed is ideal. It was his purpose to write real social history, to present a well rounded picture of the life of the people. Cutting loose from the older tradition that all history is political he insisted on adequate treatment of other equally important phases. This will be seen by an examination of his chapters: Exploration and settlement and civil and military history cover the

[13]The edition was 10,000 copies. Mr. Pinck C. Ennis told me that he once assisted in sending 2,700 copies to the paper mill. It is now relatively rare.

[14]Hawks, Francis Lister: History of North Carolina (Fayetteville, 1857-58, 2 vols.).

field which is usually considered as political history, but to these subjects he has added other chapters: The law and its administration; Agriculture and manufactures; Navigation and trade; Religion and learning; Manners and customs.

Dr. Hawks was far more of a scholar than any of his predecessors. He was universally recognized as one of the most accomplished historical and antiquarian scholars of his day and his work has many excellent features: His researches were more extensive; his critical abilities were of a high order; his style is clear, forceful and eloquent, but oratorical and personal and adapted rather to the spoken than the written word, for Dr. Hawks was a pulpit orator and his subject unconsciously conformed to hearing rather than reading. His training is perhaps the root of his greatest weakness,—a dogmatic certainty that seems to be inseparable from pulpit orators. Being accustomed to teach ex-cathedra and to have their auditors receive their teachings as if dictated by the Holy Ghost, as Goethe says, when they undertake to write history they frequently fall into the habit of substituting their own opinions for those of the documents. Such was the misfortune of Dr. Hawks. He was often partisan and perhaps more often wrong than right in his conclusions and he failed utterly to understand the spirit of his own people. This misfortune may perhaps be explained as due to life spent in a great city rather than in the open freedom of his own State. His History is academic and lacks that power of interpretation, particularly necessary for the period of which he wrote, which comes only with experience on the frontier. He is continually ringing the changes on North Carolina as the harbor of rogues and runaways from Virginia, failing to understand that the frontier is always not only a haven of refuge for the bad who take not kindly to the restraints of law and custom but also a promised land to the bolder and more restless spirits who chafe under any form of tyranny and from whose ranks the nation builders are always recruited. He failed to remember also that even the frontier is a movable quantity; in the first half of the 17th century it was Virginia itself; then it was Carolina; then it was Georgia; two generations ago it was Texas and California; now it is New Mexico and Arizona; tomorrow it will be Alaska.

Again, Dr. Hawks emphasizes what he terms the ignorance of the pioneers; had he ever seen these pioneers or their like in action he would never have called them ignorant. Illiterate they doubtless were, but ignorant never; ignorant men do not become commonwealth builders; the ignorant, the weak, the timid do not emigrate; they do not go out into the wilderness to build new homes and meet the savage on his own terms. Only the resolute, self-reliant, self-centered, self-confident, ag-

gressive pioneer does that. He is often illiterate, for the education of the schools is frequently denied to such, but ignorant never. He is a master in the domain of nature if not in the field of books.

Of all those who have undertaken a detailed and complete study of our history, to Major Moore[15] alone was it given to publish a work which came down to his own day and which presented a fairly complete view of at least the political activity of the State and its people.

Published in 1880 in two volumes this History comes down to the end of reconstruction and is still the only extensive work in existence dealing with the life of the State since the end of the Revolution. Major Moore did not undertake more than a history in the narrow sense,—a history of the political development of the State; he has little on religion, less on education and the intellectual life and practically nothing on economics. His work, so far as it goes, is well proportioned. The story of the colonial period is told in 175 pages and as many more are given to the Revolution. To the succeeding hundred years or less of freedom is given some 600 pages, of which the Civil War and Reconstruction, looming larger a generation ago than now, occupy nearly 300. This is, however, as it should be. This period made then the greatest appeal and it was the one on which Major Moore could speak as one having authority. He had been a participant in the scenes described and for this reason his second volume can never be wholly superseded nor entirely neglected by future students. It was his good fortune to escape the capital blunder of Williamson, for whatever his faults his contribution to the source material for the Civil War and Reconstruction is such as to fix his place securely in the historiography of the State.

For the earlier periods covered by Major Moore's work not so much can be said. He wrote before the publication of our records and had to depend for the colonial period on the older historians and on the relatively fragmentary sources then to be found in the State, while for the period between the Revolution and the Civil War the materials were much scattered and largely inaccessible even as they are today. Major Moore's style is faulty in the extreme. He presents a mass of facts. Insignificant politicians—for his History becomes to a large extent a record of such—crowd upon and over his limited canvas; as a result the general impression is blurred and lost in a multitude of unessential details and a horde of unimportant names. His facts, massive in number, overlay his narrative and historical perspective and philosophical interpretation disappear. The narrative is a hotch-potch with all sorts of unrelated materials, irrelevant, insignificant, garrulous, descending often to the level of mere neighborhood gossip and losing sight of the

[15]Moore, John W.: History of North Carolina from the Earliest Discoveries to the Present Time (Raleigh, 1880, 2 vols.).

larger plane of State activity for which the stage is set. Smothered in this way by its own details the text is innocent of style. It is more like the work of a story teller who, having arranged his ideas, precipitates them on paper regardless of relative importance or logical association, and then publishes them without revision. He failed to sort over and select his materials, being like Martin too much overmastered by mere chronological order.

Another writer, who deserves well of the State as a general historian but who has had the misfortune to remain almost entirely unknown, is John Franklin Heitman (1843-1904). His History of North Carolina appeared in the *North Carolina Educational Journal* (Trinity College, N. C.) in 1884-85[16] and in the *North Carolina Home Journal* (Trinity, N. C.) in 1897-98;[17] being published only in this form and enjoying at best a circulation of only a few hundred copies it has almost entirely disappeared, and is perhaps today rarer and less known than any other study published on the history of the State.

This neglect is not deserved for Professor Heitman was a close and enthusiastic student with scholarly impulses and high ideals; he possessed much industry, but was hampered by lack of means and his use of sources was of necessity limited since his study of the first hundred years of the colony was completed before the publication of the Colonial Records. Notwithstanding these handicaps he has fallen into fewer errors than might have been expected and has produced work of such a character as to cause us to regret that it must remain a torso.

In thirty-one short chapters Professor Heitman gave us a clear running narrative of the main events in the life of the State down to August, 1774. In his work he differs in many respects from his predecessors. He does not misinterpret our early colonial history like Williamson; he is free from most of the blunders of Martin and Wheeler; and while he lacks the sustained eloquence of Hawks he avoids the empty verbosity of Moore. In his narrative he does not philosophize, nor enter into a discussion of cause and effect; he indulges in neither sermons nor fanciful pictures, but sticks close to his text and gives a story that is always simple, straightforward and clear and sometimes vigorous. Had it been possible for Professor Heitman to have published his History in a more enduring form and could he have brought it down to his own day it would have commanded the respect of all students of the State's life just as all students who were privileged to know its author respected and honored him despite his shrinking modesty which made him pass with the careless observer for less than his true worth.

[16] In numbers for January-July, September-December, 1884, and January-June, September-December, 1885.

[17] In numbers for September, 1897, and January-August, October-December, 1898.

To Captain Ashe,[18] author of the latest and most extensive work on the History of North Carolina, the lines fell in more pleasant places. He wrote after the publication of the records; he had already spent a long life in the service of the State; he knew her history through such study as few men have been able or disposed to give, and for the last fifty years he has been an active participant in that history; he has had training in statecraft and had acquired skill in writing as editor of a leading newspaper; he was familiar with the documentary materials of our history from long study, from inheritance and personal participation, and to it all he brought an unrivaled love for the State and enthusiasm for investigation. The result so far is an extended and most valuable study of the life of the colony and State down to the close of the Revolution. With more abundant materials and under more favorable auspices Captain Ashe has outclassed and therefore outdistanced his earlier competitors at nearly all points, and has given us a story not only accurate but one well written and full of enthusiasm for his subject. It is treated with dignity, is without undue self-laudation, is devoid of that tone of cringing apology so often seen in our local literature, and has been even bold enough to reject without regard to consequences traditions long cherished by the State but found, unfortunately, not to be supported by documentary evidence.

In the main Captain Ashe has emphasized and followed the line of political and constitutional development, and it must be admitted that no other field so engrossed the talent of the colony and State in its earlier days. This was in accord with the genius of our people and is closely bound up with our political philosophy. Only in our own time, when we are all becoming loose constructionists, is the social and economic life of the State coming into its own. It is the purpose of Captain Ashe to begin his second volume with chapters reviewing the social, religious, intellectual and economic life of the 18th century, and with these chapters completed his work will present a carefully planned, well arranged, well written organic whole, easily without a rival among earlier writers. It is already coming into its own; it is likely to be long the authority for the story of the past, and for the last fifty years, because of its author's participation in the events described, it must always be a highly esteemed original source.

III. GENERAL REVIEW.

Having thus briefly reviewed the books which have undertaken to present a more or less detailed history of the State, we are prepared to consider certain characteristics which are for the most part common to them all.

[18] Ashe, Samuel A'Court: History of North Carolina from 1584 to 1783 (Greensboro, 1908, Vol. I all published).

No one of these general writers was trained in the methods of modern historical criticism; all of them came to their subject with such professional preparation only as it was possible for them to acquire in the school of experience and from a more or less limited contact with books and sources.

Indeed it has always been a weakness of history that since the entrance is easy many persons immature in knowledge, without training or experience and lacking in materials, have nevertheless rushed into the field and undertaken historical studies for which they are not prepared. To write or teach history is supposed to be within the reach of every man. This is perhaps the chief reason for so much inferior historical work. They write in simple ignorance of the subject, but in this North Carolina can claim no monopoly. History has no technical language of its own like that of the chemist, the psychologist or the educationist under which to veil its thoughts. The historian has never sought to live apart from his fellows. The most successful have preferred rather to mingle among them and draw lessons from their daily lives. This experience gives the historian the power of philosophical interpretation, but it does not in itself prepare him to write history which is concerned first of all with the search for materials and after such have been discovered with a consideration of the claims to credibility of contradictory documents, the elimination of the maximum of error, the attainment of the maximum of probability. In this work he dare follow no master but truth. In this search for truth the historians of North Carolina have been often handicapped by lack of training and experience, more often by the lack of documentary materials, and sometimes by preconceived opinions. It is only by continued research, by repeated investigation and the reweighing of old beliefs in the light of fuller evidence that we can hope to arrive at ultimate truth. Historical truth is a progressive evolution, the product of successive generations of painstaking scholars, who must be prepared to suffer such charges as pedantry and hypercriticism and to meet controversies between knowledge and ignorance where it will be insisted that each side has a right to their own opinion.

North Carolina historians have been weak on the literary side because, despite their production of a limited number of books, they are still to be reckoned rather as men of action than of thought. In general we find that those who were best trained in the arts of speaking and writing, like Hawks and Ashe, have beyond all question produced the best books from both the historical and literary sides.

Again, history flourishes best in a democracy because there the historian is at liberty to tell the whole truth if attainable and to reject

all shadow of error. Court historians and those devoted to the advancement of certain theories cannot represent the true ideals of history. It has not always been that North Carolina writers have been free from this charge. In their own day it was charged, and perhaps not without justice, that one (Hawks) favored the high church and Tory parties at the expense of low churchmen and dissenters; that another (Moore) gave undue emphasis to the Baptists, and that a third (Wheeler) made his book primarily a gallery of Democratic worthies. Historical books have been written in North Carolina to substantiate this theory and that, to advance the fortunes of individual men, and to prove preconceived theories rather than to arrive at exact truth. It is impossible for this writer to think that the North Carolina militia did not run away from the battle of Guilford when he devotes himself to the documents instead of the special pleadings of Schenck; nor can he, however much he might desire, accept the genuineness of other Revolutionary proceedings in the absence of original documents. Nor will he yield willing and ready assent to the estimate of certain characters who have in the past loomed large in the State's history. The times or the section in which they lived, some institution in which they were interested or family pride or other extraneous causes have conspired to give such men more than their due. It is the privilege, even the duty of the historian to reweigh the findings of contemporaries with their special pleadings and to assign to each subject that niche in the temple of fame which his merits may command. Conversely, other men, overwhelmed by the hostility or misunderstanding of their own generation, or neglected by the next because they were still ahead of their time, must be again considered and reassigned. Such men as Edward Moseley, Archibald D. Murphey and Calvin H. Wiley, protagonists and prophets, voices crying in the wilderness, are now for the first time coming into their own.

But history cannot flourish even in a democracy without support. No North Carolina historical writer is at all sure of an audience and for that reason our historical literature sometimes has lacked vitality. It is not even within the range of probability that any writer on North Carolina history has made money out of his venture. They have usually done their work because of enthusiasm for the subject and at heavy cost of personal sacrifice. They have received little corporate or State assistance. In this respect North Carolina has been sadly amiss. She has been liberal in providing for the publication of source materials. Beyond this she has as yet declined to go, but go she must if she wishes to know the history of her past. Two generations ago, while suffering from an acute attack of unwonted and inexplicable generosity she

opened her heart and her purse and purchased fifty copies of Colonel Wheeler's Sketches, but when the assistance of the assembly was asked in 1858-59 for Dr. Hawks the matter ended in talk and most of us remember the fate of Captain Ashe when he asked official recognition for his work in 1909 because he ran counter to certain interests. But Captain Ashe has attained a much greater reward for his work; he has already become the authority in North Carolina. He has won this recognition fairly by his excellence, his accuracy and devotion to his State. The next generation will accept his conclusions with a smile at the smallness of vision of our own.

It is generally conceded that men and nations are not remembered by what they have done but by what they have written. In the eyes of the future that State will be greatest which has produced not the greatest generals and statesmen but the greatest artists, poets and historians. It is theirs to award honor and pronounce judgment. They are the final arbiters in fixing the opinions of mankind. No legislative action can change the force of their award. They even pluck from oblivion, as Junius says, and reward with an eternity of infamy or of honor. It has always been so. The ancients were quick to recognize this truth. Happy was Hector, says Cicero, because he had Homer for his herald. The court of history is the final judgment seat of mankind and the historian is its chief minister.

North Carolina Fiction

By Thomas Perrin Harrison, Professor of English in the North Carolina A. and M. College.

I.

A glance over the field is sufficient to convince us that North Carolina has not been interpreted in fiction as we find to be the case with other Southern States. Every dramatic period in the life of Virginia has been mirrored in the stories of Mary Johnston, John Esten Cooke, Thomas Nelson Page, and Ellen Glasgow. These writers have done their work, too, with an artistic sureness of touch that places it among the permanent literary achievements of the nation. James Lane Allen, John Fox, and Alice Hegan Rice have crystallized in fiction certain phases of life in Kentucky; and Charles Egbert Craddock has similarly portrayed with keenest insight and loving sympathy the lives and characters of the Tennessee mountaineers. Equally valuable service has been rendered by George W. Cable, Ruth McEnery Stuart, and Grace King to Louisiana. Georgia also is peculiarly rich in the fiction that represents her varied and picturesque life. Richard Malcolm Johnston, Joel Chandler Harris, Harry Stillwell Edwards, and Will N. Harben have depicted with skill and with characteristic humor the past of the old Cracker State.

To what extent has North Carolina been interpreted in fiction?

II.

In order to enrich, or at least to make fairly complete our survey, we should include in North Carolina fiction, novels and short stories by authors who are not native but who have placed the scenes and incidents of their stories chiefly within the State. Ostensibly at least, these are attempts to portray in fiction the history of the State and the life of the people. This enlarged view brings within range such obvious pot-boilers as William Farquhar Payson's "John Vytal, A Tale of the Lost Colony." The story begins with roistering and riot in London streets, continues with mutiny and other excitements at sea—the stereotyped material of a thousand tales of adventure—and is filled out with rather crudely devised incidents in the wilds of Carolina. Quite different is Meredith Nicholson's "Little Brown Jug at Kildare," with its rather bright fooling which becomes at times horse-play. By this means

an accomplished novelist chose to regale himself for a season. These books do not truly portray North Carolina or her people.

Dr. L. R. Wilson, the University librarian at Chapel Hill, two years ago compiled a list of 103 titles of "fiction with a North Carolina setting." Of course some of these books merely touch North Carolina, and many of them are written by authors native of other States. Of this list, one is likely to remember Cyrus Townsend Brady's "When Blades Are Out and Love's Afield" and Mrs. Burnett's "Louisiana."

III.

A degree nearer to us are the sons and daughters of the State who have gone abroad and from vantage points beyond our borders have written stories, some on North Carolina themes, others with incidents localized elsewhere. To one of these, William Sidney Porter, we are pleased to lay unqualified claim, although from early manhood he lived outside our bounds, and although no story of his, except one, I believe, touches in its course his native State. As "O. Henry" will be accorded special consideration at this meeting of the Society, no more need be said of him here. Prominent in the group of native writers who have done their writing as non-residents stands Mr. Thomas Dixon, a man of virile and prolific mind. Do we find in his novels, for example, in "The Leopard's Spots," a true picture of life in North Carolina at any period? Do we find an accurate portrayal of representative Southern character? The author has the following "Historical Note" introductory to "The Leopard's Spots": "The only liberty I have taken with history is to tone down the facts to make them credible in fiction." Unfortunately this statement does not adequately answer our question. The book is, we grieve to admit, not a work of the novelist's high art, displaying in carefully constructed narrative and in accurately drawn characters our dramatic past. Instead of exercising the reserve and the restraint which make truth all the more compelling, the author gives himself all the license of a violent partisan. He produces in consequence, not dramatic narrative, but lurid melodrama: a series of amazing scenes and astounding incidents. If this talent had been so severely disciplined that this strength would have been held in check and wisely directed, what might it not have accomplished? Like Southern wealth in other fields, both strength and talent have been prodigally expended without adequate return in permanent intellectual and spiritual possession.

Mrs. May Dixon Thacker, a sister of Mr. Thomas Dixon, has written in "The Strength of the Weak" (1910), a novel on one phase of the woman problem; and Mrs. Sara Beaumont Kennedy, in "Joscelyn

Cheshire" (1901), has made contribution to the historical novels with scene cast in the State during the Revolution. Mrs. Kennedy rather uses the State at that time as background for the story than makes any attempt to recreate the period in form of fiction. In the present group even a brief survey must include Judge Albion W. Tourgee, whose most notable work probably is "A Fool's Errand" (1879.) This notorious book dealing with the Reconstruction period is well remembered by older people. "The Southerner," by the author who calls himself "Nicholas Worth," might be added if placing it as fiction could be justified.

IV.

The writers born within the State and identified throughout their lives with the people command our chief interest. Who are these? What have they written? In the endeavor to depict the period just before the Civil War, John W. Moore's "The Heirs of St. Kilda" (1880) frankly assumes the controversial attitude; it answers the South's "cry for vindication." Covering practically the same period, an earlier book, "Seagift," by E. W. Fuller, almost defies classification, it combines so remarkably the wildly romantic with the photographically realistic. A beautiful Cuban girl, washed upon the shore after storm and shipwreck off Hatteras, is found by two young men, these two of course to become rival. Romantic enough, to be sure! Some scenes succeed as realistic as Fielding, devoid, however, of Fielding's genius; and finally a revolting close. The book is sadly lacking in construction, in consistency—in all the elements that go to make a successful novel; yet certain incidents in the story hold the attention and stick in the memory. Without adequate training, and without the consummate genius that overleaps all training, Fuller had imagination and crude force that under more favorable conditions might have carried him far.

The most interesting man in this group is Calvin H. Wiley, the first State Superintendent of Public Instruction in North Carolina, and the organizer of the public school system. "Alamance, or the Great and Final Experiment" (copyright, 1847), centers upon the life of the schoolmaster, Hector McBride; but the larger purpose includes the history of the central part of the State during the Regulation War and the Revolution. Similarly, "Roanoke, or where is Utopia?" (copyright, 1866) endeavors to portray the people and to commemorate the events of the coastal region. This novel, into which the slavery question enters, has a peculiar history. Dr. Stephen B. Weeks kindly furnishes me the facts from his manuscript bibliography of North Carolina literature. First published serially in Sartain's *Union Magazine*, Philadel-

phia, 1849, the book was twice pirated in London, once with the title "Adventures of Old Dan Tucker and His Son Walter" (1851), and again as "Companion to Uncle Tom's Cabin" (circa 1851). Peterson, in Philadelphia, published it in 1852 as "Life in the South." The text, Dr. Weeks says, is practically the same in all the editions; and also the "fourteen illustrations expressly for this work by Darby." These last must be seen to be appreciated. The book has had adventures almost equal to its hero's. Yet we can but regret that Calvin Wiley did not write a series of historical sketches rather than this unkempt fiction which pitiably fails when measured by the criteria of permanent literature. The spell of the "Author of Waverley" was too powerful; fiction it had to be.

Still more recently two men have again sought to re-create in fiction the colonial life of the State. Mr. W. L. Hargrave, in "Wallannah, a Colonial Romance" (1902), narrates a series of somewhat startling episodes, culminating in a scene which suggests the Indian trial in "The Yemassee" of William Gilmore Simms. Bearing the date 1913 is "The Master of the Red Buck and the Bay Doe," by Dr. William Laurie Hill, called "the poet laureate of journalism in North Carolina." The character of this novel is more fully indicated by the sub-title, "A Story of Whig and Tory Warfare in North Carolina, 1781-83." Fanning, of Revolutionary fame, is the central personage.

Turning from historical fiction, two women have written noteworthy fiction in other fields. Mrs. Tiernan has done successfully what, I take it, she set out to do. She seems to have seen clearly the literary preeminence in our day of the novel; and without aspiring to produce great, permanent fiction, she has drawn about her by a long series of stories a sympathetic and admiring circle of readers. The State owes her a debt for bringing, in "The Land of the Sky," our beautiful mountain region before the eyes of the nation. It is only to be deplored that in "The Light of the Vision," Mrs. Tiernan makes use of fiction as a medium to convey a propaganda of her religious faith. It takes genius indeed to raise a polemic in fiction to the level of art.

Mrs. Margaret Busbee Shipp is contributing short stories of high merit to some of the best periodicals. A collection of these stories would display to advantage their clear-cut structure, their classic purity of style, and the wholesome spirit that pervades them.

V.

The purpose in this paper has been to give a necessarily rapid review of North Carolina fiction, particularly of the extent to which the life of North Carolina has been interpreted in this literary form. Many

writers and many books are of necessity unmentioned. However, after even this hasty review, we must, I think, re-affirm that North Carolina has been, in the re-creation of her past in fiction, less fortunate than several other Southern States. The dramatic periods of our history—Roanoke and the first settlement, the period of the Regulators and the Revolution, the period of growth and self-realization, the Civil War, and the subsequent social readjustment—these periods, all of intense significance, have indeed been touched, but not yet, we feel, have they received final or even fairly satisfactory treatment in fiction. Furthermore, no native of the State has yet in fiction attained what promises to be a permanent place in the literature of the nation, save only William Sidney Porter.

Is there not peculiar significance in the fact that the Patterson Cup has been presented now for ten consecutive years: once for poetry, thrice for history, thrice for biography, thrice for description and travel: never yet for fiction! Fiction has been in the eligible list many times; but the fiction offered has not yet measured up to well-established standards.

"A good story well told" is Professor Phelps's definition of a novel. To the uninitiated this seems tantalizingly easy—to tell a story; the outer framework of the novel is glaringly obvious. But surprisingly otherwise the inner mechanism; to tell a story *well* is probably the most difficult of all the arts, requiring for success, as I have said, adequate training or consummate genius, this last being, in the words of the gentleman just quoted, as rare as radium. In the novels we have been considering, the high art illustrating the miraculous power of simplicity, directness, sincerity, is absent; in them also appears negatively the truth that no book, "unless the vital currents of a rare spirit flow through it and vivify it, has the gift of life."

Ballad-Literature in North Carolina

BY FRANK C. BROWN, PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH IN TRINITY COLLEGE.

In assigning me this subject for discussion, the committee informed me that they desired to have discussed in a paper of twenty minutes the following topics: definition and character of the ballad; the history of the ballad; the value in studying and preserving traditional English and Scottish ballads, and a general review of the work done by the North Carolina Folk-Lore Society in collecting English and Scottish ballads and other traditional songs still current in the State; I shall discuss, therefore, each of these topics as briefly as possible.

Many scholars have attempted to define the ballad: Herder has called ballads "The Voices of the Nations"; Professor Kittredge thus defines the ballad in his introduction to "English and Scottish Popular Ballads": "It [the ballad] is composed in the popular style and perpetuated for a time by oral tradition"; Ker, "On History of Ballads," gives this definition: "It is a narrative poem lyrical in form, or a lyrical poem with a narrative body in it. And it is a lyrical narrative, not of the ambitious kind, like Pindar, but simple, and adapted for simple audiences and for oral tradition from one generation to another."

The theory that one holds concerning the origin of the ballads determines in some degree his definition. Whether the ballad, as some scholars think, is the production of an individual poet, or maker, in whom there is all absence of subjectivity and self-consciousness, and who, in expressing his emotions, expresses those of a somewhat homogeneous community to which he belongs, or whether, as others think, this song is the production of a community in a communal throng, dancing and making a song as the people sing in their dance, work, or worship, has not been to most people proved beyond reasonable doubt. Perhaps there is truth in both contentions. It is true that even the ballads that seem genuine beyond all reasonable doubt and that have been preserved most nearly in their earliest complete form have undoubtedly been so changed by process of tradition that one can never use them as very trustworthy evidence to prove any theory; but they must have preserved through the centuries certain characteristic traits, which, together with facts connected with traditional songs produced in modern times by negroes, lead one to the conclusion that some ballads at least had their origin in a singing of the dancing, worshipping, or working communal throng which repeated perhaps with some sensible or senseless and wild refrain the expressions that individuals of

the throng uttered to add facts to the story of grief, of joy, of astonishment, or of something momentous that for the hour, day, week, and perhaps month was all-absorbing to the mind of the throng; and my belief is that these expressions were doubtless sung the first time without any order of chronology and just as facts occurred to various individuals, who uttered them in a sort of recitative as they thought of them, and then joined the throng in the wailing refrain; then the whole throng repeated over and over these expressions, each time with the refrain, until a new fact occurred to some one, who added his contribution to the common stock. The next time the crowd sang, the stock of ideas was undoubtedly sung by unanimous impulse in a somewhat chronological order, and a crude narrative song was the result; in just this manner negroes make fragments of songs today. But the result thus obtained was evidently not a ballad such as has come down to us, and the result never could have been a complete finished ballad, for it seems unthinkable that fragments, crude expressions of individuals, could ever have united of themselves to form a finished ballad of the most intricate sort. Is it not more reasonable to suppose that some mind a bit more talented than the others of the throng pondered the fragments from one meeting time until another, rearranged and remodeled them and then at the meeting of the throng led the singing with his rearranged order? It is hard for anyone to believe that there ever was a time in any community when some minds were not superior to others; moreover, if Steenstrup is right, a "dance-leader" was present at all meetings of the throng and had charge of the dances; as the obligation of leading was upon him, he naturally would have worked out in his mind some plan for the coming dance or ceremony which he was to lead. Such individual rearrangement and revision, together with some polish which the ballads have doubtless received during the centuries of their traditional existence, would account for the forms in which they are now preserved. But some ballads seem to show no trace of origin in a singing throng at worship or ceremony, that is, there is apparently no trace of choral elements or of choral origin. How about these ballads? Is it not conceivable that even in very early times the minds that had some taste for collecting the fragments of fact sung in the communal gathering and talent for rearranging them should easily have taken the initiative at other times, and, as they felt the common emotions of their community, should have expressed these common feelings in a song that moved more rapidly in a narrative to the end without any refrain? The refrain doubtless indicates slow composition, a pausing for some one to add an idea. To the statement that the refrain seems often to have been sung first, it may be said that it

probably was sung first to give to the throng the air to which the expressions of emotion were to be uttered.

The subject-matter of the ballad is of a popular nature: it appeals to the people as a whole. It consists of anything that was momentous in some way, riddles, miraculous harvests, the quibbling oath, elopements, stealing of the bride, love-affairs that ended unfortunately, battles, shipwrecks, enchantments, transformations, fairy stories, return of the dead, legends secular and religious. Real suffering of body or of mind appealed as a rule to the sympathies of the early peoples as did also humorous situations; consequently, the ballads touch the entire gamut of primal human passion, the grave and gay, the cruel and kind, the uncouth and refined. As opposed to artistic, or literary, poetry, many of the ballads are tragic in ending because life was so. The folk were not keen analysts and philosophers, carefully considering human life and commenting on it; they took life as they found it, more often cruel and selfish than kind and generous, and, since it was without the softening influence of Christianity, often tragic in the extreme.

From the very nature of the ballad we see that certain characteristics must generally be present in the genuine ballad. It must be narrative, it must tell a simple life-like story, and, since the early people, so far as we have been able to learn, danced at many of their gatherings and gave expression in song to their emotions at work, at their ceremonies, or at their worship, the ballad was always sung—it is still sung wherever it is yet traditional and current, and without the air one cannot understand or appreciate its full value and beauty; its appeal without the music is incomplete. Since the ballad is the expression in song of a wholly natural passion free from all affectation and restraint, it is never without perfect rhythm; indeed so pervasive is the lilt in many ballads that they cannot be recited at all; they must be sung. Furthermore, as the product of a simple people—simple in that they knew not affectation, cynicism, restraint, literature, art, philosophy, or any complex theories of life, the ballads are artless in form, often homely, free from learned words, simple in methods of thought, and direct and frank in expression. Though oftentimes gruesome in details, ballads always express genuine pathos as opposed to sentimentalism, but they seldom append a moral. In structure they are brief, simple in their plots, which contain a large degree of probability; they are therefore intensely impressive and dramatic.

In metrical form the ballads are simple: most English ballads contain stanzas of two lines with four accents in each verse, "which is thought by many to have been the prevailing measure of early popular poetry everywhere," or else they appear in the so-called ballad-measure,

a stanza of four lines with four accents in the first verse, three in the second, four in the third, and three in the fourth.

The ballad is no doubt of early origin. "Nobody doubts," says Professor Kittredge, "that the Angles and Saxons had ballads in abundance when they invaded Britain, and the mediaeval chroniclers testify to the continuance of the ballad-singing habit. Indeed, there is no difficulty in proving beyond a reasonable doubt that there were ballads in plenty from the dawn of English history down to the seventeenth century." In our earliest literature we find references to remnants of songs: in "Beowulf," our oldest epic, we read that, to the accompaniment of the harp, a "King's thane" or a scop sang old songs and fitted words to the air of an old song to entertain the warriors on the mead-bench; in the account of William the Conqueror's invasion of England we read that a "tregetour," Taillefer, marched at the front of the victorious army, singing the Chant de Roland. We do not know absolutely that any ballads existed in those early days, but we may be fairly certain that they did; however, such productions of the folk were perhaps scorned for the more literary productions of the minstrel in the day of the Norman invader; hence, none of the ballads, if any existed, has been preserved to us. The earliest writing down of a ballad is that of "Judas," preserved in a manuscript of Trinity College, Cambridge, written in the thirteenth century, and the next oldest to be written down, at least of which we have any record, is "Riddles Wisely Expounded," in a manuscript of about 1445; most of the early ballads preserved to us were written down between 1445 and 1650. The fact that we have none preserved in writing earlier than the thirteenth century does not prove that the ballads are not of ancient production, but merely that such simple productions of the people were not preserved in written form. We may be fairly safe in concluding that most of the ballads preserved to us assumed the form in which they now appear some time between 1100 and 1650.

When the last volume of the monumental work of Professor Child, of Harvard University, "The English and Scottish Popular Ballads," was published in 1898, the great scholar had collected and published from all sources 305 ballads which he considered genuine. Of these he had found in America variants of thirty-eight different ballads; and most scholars thought no doubt that Mr. Child had found most of the variants of ballads still current in this country; indeed few, if any, realized that anything like all of those he found were still current at that time, and as late as 1904 Professor Kittredge wrote in his introduction to the edition of "English and Scottish Popular Ballads" by Sargent and Kittredge: "A few of the ballads in Mr. Child's collection are still in oral

circulation; but most of them are completely forgotten or are known only in versions derived from print"; in recent years, however, collectors in America have made some very rare finds of variants, and even versions, of ballads in the Child collection which Mr. Child did not dream existed here—variants which in many, in fact in most, instances are still sung by the people of our country, chiefly in the New England, Middle Atlantic, and Southern States.

In an admirable article, "The Traditional Ballad in the South," in the *Journal of American Folk-Lore,* Volume xxvii, January-May, 1914, Professor Reed Smith, of the University of South Carolina, assigns to the various states the ballads found therein, and he gives other most interesting material concerning variants of ballads found in America. Professor Smith's article shows that, up to January, 1914, a total of seventy-three ballads had been collected in America, of which thirteen variants had been found in North Carolina. Since that time North Carolina has found eleven more, making a total of* twenty-four to date; of this eleven one is a variant, collected just before Christmas, 1914, never before found in America, and another, reported to the Society in January, 1915, is a version not in Mr. Child's great collection and not generally known to exist in the English language. The North Carolina Folk-Lore Society has still another variant, not counted in the twenty-four, never before found in America, but the collector, Mrs. John C. Campbell, of Asheville, has not been able to determine yet whether the variant (a variant of 283 in Child, *The Crafty Farmer,* collected with the title *A Yorkshire Bite*) can be credited to our state or whether it must go to the credit of Georgia or Tennessee. At any rate, whether this last find adds one to North Carolina's list or not, we are sure that America can now claim a total of seventy-six; there may be in other states recent discoveries of variants not before found in this country, but if there are any, I have not seen a report of them.

Most of the ballads collected in this state are still sung by the mountain farmer or woodsman as he goes to his work, by the tobacco farmer during the nights when he cures his crop for the market, by the mothers in various parts of the State as they lull their children to sleep or follow their daily routine of work (the ballads which you will hear sung this afternoon were collected within six miles of Durham in a community where they are daily sung), all unconscious that these songs are the frank expression centuries ago of the emotional life of our ancestors across the sea, but all realizing that these traditional melodies appeal to their primal passions and cling from generation to generation about the hearthstone. Of many of the ballads found in North Carolina the North Carolina Folk-Lore Society has been able to collect the airs,

*When this paper was read before the Association in December, 1914, seventeen ballads had been found in the State. The figures here given represent the results of the Society's work to April, 1915, when this article goes to press.

which will be published in a volume of North Carolina folk-lore to appear in 1915; it is the earnest hope of those in charge of the publication of this volume that many more airs to these ballads and to the other traditional songs will have been sent to the Society before the manuscript of the volume goes to the printer.

The value of ballads lies in the light they throw upon social conditions of our early ancestors, the men and women who produced the race that charted the seas, circumnavigated the globe, explored and colonized America, gave us the best blood of our nation and the highest quality of citizenship that we know, and produced under Elizabeth some of the greatest literature the world has ever seen. The ballads enable us to look upon the emotional life of those shadowy days and to see the hearts of those early peoples, their crude faith, perhaps more superstitition than true religion, their ideas of patriotism, happiness, success and failure, ideals of home and domestic affection—all these and many more. But I am persuaded that perhaps the greatest value in the study of the ballads lies in their simple, frank, unaffected expression of all the primal passions, their setting forth unashamed the undisguised human being and in the simple presentation of the great out-of-doors, the forest and stream, cloud and tempest, frost and snow, sunshine and shadow. The ballads have little real description of external nature, for they move briefly and rapidly in a simple and dramatic manner to the end of the narrative, but who can read any real ballad and imagine himself walking on the granolithic sidewalk of a great city or riding in a parlor-car? We are taken out with these simple folk into the clear sunshine, and in imagination follow them over crag and through forest and stream and river into the outdoors, where we smell the pleasant tang of the forest and breathe the atmosphere of health and life in action and deed. These people were no weaklings, men or women, and as we associate with them, we find them red-blooded, sanguine, often wild and grotesque to be sure, but cast in heroic mould. Where can we go to get a better view of simple humanity, crude but true, than in the ballads? And is not this, the truthful presentation of the relation of man to external nature and his attitude towards the eternal, one of the highest qualities which we seek in literature?

Of the great mass of folk-lore collected by the Society in North Carolina I will mention the more important material in three general classes.

1. Of the English and Scottish ballads in Professor Child's collection variants of the following have been collected in the State:

Numbers and Titles Given in Mr. Child's Collection.	Titles by Which the Same Ballads Are Known in North Carolina.
4. Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight.	The Six Fair Maids; The Seventh King's Daughter; Sweet William.
7. Earl Brand.	Sweet William and Fair Ellen; Fair Ellender.
10. The Two Sisters.	(Collected without title in March, 1915.)
12. Lord Randal.	Tiranti, My Son (a composite of 12 and 76).
26. The Three Ravens.	Three Black Crows.
53. Young Beichan.	Lord Behan; The Turkish Lady.
73. Lord Thomas and Fair Annet.	Lord Thomas and Fair Ellender; Lord Thomas and Fair Ellenter; Lord Thomas and Fair Eleanor; Fair Ellender and the Brown Girl.
74. Fair Margaret and Sweet William.	Lady Marget.
75. Lord Lovel.	Lord Lovinder; Lord Lovel and Lady Nancy.
76. The Lass of Roch Royal.	Kitty Kline; Tiranti, My Son. (See No. 12 in this list.)
79. The Wife of Usher's Well.	The Lady and Her Children Three; The Three Little Babes.
81. Little Musgrave and Lady Barnard.	Lord Daniel's Wife, or Little Mattly Groves.
84. Bonny Barbara Allen.	Barbara Allen.
85. Lady Alice.	George Collins; Giles Collins.
93. Lamkin.	Beaulampkins.
95. The Maid Freed from the Gallows.	True Love; The Hangman.
118. Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne.	Robin Hood and the Stranger.
200. The Gypsy Laddie.	Egyptian Davy O; Black Jack David; Black Eyed Davy.
243. James Harris (The Demon Lover).	The House Carpenter.
272. The Suffolk Miracle.	Jimmy and Nancy.
274. Our Goodman.	Kind Wife.
277. The Wife Wrapt in Wether's Skin.	Dan—You.
286. The Sweet Trinity (The Golden Vanity).	The Golden Willow Tree.
299. Trooper and Maid.	The Bugle Boy.

2. This list contains traditional songs which are apparently of British origin.

Beautiful Susan;
Johnny German;
The Turkish Factor;
Johnny Dye;
The Prince of Morocco;
The Silk Merchant's Daughter;
Young Johnnie;
Sweet Jane;
Seven Long Years;
Poor Parker;
"I was brought up in Ireland";
"When I became a rover";
William Taylor;
Sailor Boy;
"Good woman, good woman";
Charming Nancy;
Lovely Susan;
Jealous Lover;
Oh the Lamp Burns Dimly Down Below;
Robert Lerow and His Dila;
The Squire's Sons;
The Lover's Lament;
The Dying Lovers;
The Old Dyer;
Jack and Joe;
"A broker lived on Brighton Street";
"There was a lady, skin and bone" (fragment).

3a. In this list are songs which are apparently of American origin; some are purely local.

Paul Jones;
The Two Soldiers;
Bonnie Blue Eyes;
Soldier, Soldier, Won't You Marry Me?
"My father's a hedger and ditcher";
The Old Miller and His Three Sons;
Governor Joe;
Sourwood Mountains;
Billy Grimes;
"Whip jambree";
"Oh, Willie! Is it you?"
The Orphan Girl;
The Battle of Shiloh Hill;
My Darling Little Pink;
"Oh dear, what can the matter be?"
The Cork-Leg;
Billy Boy;
Old Summer;

My Good Old Man;
A Good Cause for War;
Eula Lee;
An Irish Song;
Ballad of the Waterfall;
"Old Grumley is dead";
Southern Wagon;
When This Cruel War is Over;
Red, White, and Red;
Drummer-Boy of Waterloo;
On to Richmond;
Sun-Down Song of the Plow-Boy;
A Drinking Song;
Hunting Song;
When Adam Was Created;
A Little More Cider;
Row the Boat;
False Marie;
The Drummer Boy;
The Rugged Soldier;
Silly Bill;
Pretty Polly;
"Should I prove false to thee";
Down in a Lone Valley;
Tom Dooley;
Sweet William and Nancy;
Jennie Jenkins;
Pretty Saro;
The Farmer's Boy;
"In eighteen hundred and sixty-one";
"Come, says Harry";
An Old Man;
"I won't marry at all";
Singing the Ten Commandments;
Drummer Boy at Shiloh;
The Merrimac;
Poor Little Ellen (Ellen Smith);
Nelly Bly;
A Wet Sheet and a Flowing Sea;
Johnny Schmoker;
Michael Roy;
Good Times;
On the Banks of the Ohio;
Monkey Married the Baboon's Sister;
Nancy Till;
The Dumb Girl;
Neighbor Jones;
The Lame Man and the Blind Man;
"In the morning out we go";
Rig-a-Jig and Away We Go;
Mr. Frog Went a-Courtin';

"Fox jumped up one moon-shiny night";
Corn Shucking Song ("Jolie was a coon-dog");
Annie Lee;
The Weeping Willow;
Don't Tell Pa;
Drop o' Dew;
Old Father Grimes;
Put on Your Old Gray Bonnet;
Farmer Boy for Me;
One Little Word;
"Just as the sun went down";
Midnight Dew, or *The Devil's Dream;*
My Own True Love;
Sweet Betsy, or *Charming Betsy;*
John Hardy;
Lulu;
"I'm alone, I'm alone";
Going Down to Town;
Fare Thee Well;
Johnnie Henry;
Fond Affection;
The Paper of Pins;
Tavern in Town;
John Harmen;
Old Bob Ridley (shucking song);
Coo Coo Song;
Gypsy's Warning;
Young Charlotte;
Handsome Ploughboy;
The States;
"Rody, body, show" (row the boat ashore);
"Hi yo, boat row";
Lorena;
Kate Secrest;
"Sapsucker sucking, up a yellow gum tree" (shucking song).

3b. A list of negro ballads and negro traditional songs.

The New Burying Ground;
[*Funeral Song of Uncle Ananias*];
The Hamlet Wreck;
Destruction of the Titanic;
Durham Jail;
"It's good fer to have some patience";
Roll, Jordan, Roll;
I'm Bound to Cross the Jordan;
Oh! Susannah;
Jim Crack Corn;
John C. Britton;
"Roll, riley, roll";
"Cold frosty morning, nigger mighty good" (fragment);

"Frog he sot and watched the alligator" (fragment);
"Sam stuck a needle in his heel" (fragment);
"Harness up your horses" (fragment);
"Johnstown's a mighty big flood" (fragment);
"Oh yaller gal rides in an automobile";
Gideon's Band;
I Came From Ole Virginny;
"Come to shuck dat corn tonight" (fragment);
Napper (a break-down);
Ole Zip Coon;
Way Over in the Promised Land;
Georgia Buck;
"He got a ring, I got a ring" (fragment);
"The ole cow goes jingle-ling" (fragment);
Br'er Rabbit;
Catfish;
Ole Molly Har' (fragment);
I'll Sing You a Little Song;
Snake Baked the Hoecake (fragment);
"Robert Ridley, hoo hoo" (jig);
"Red bird sittin' in jay bird's nest" (shucking song).

North Carolina Poetry

By Ernest L. Starr, Professor of English in Salem College.

In a critical examination of the poetical output of the State one is checked and held still in surprise by a realization of the difference between what North Carolina poetry is popularly thought to be and what it is.

That fine glow of patriotism which has led us since Alamance to do, to accomplish, has also filled us with a correct and well-premised pride in what we have done. Well-premised surely: for North Carolina has been on the death-line—that is, the front rank, the honor line—in each of the three great national crises through which the country has passed.

By right of inheritance the North State possesses a wide strain of that splendid self-consciousness which filled England at the time of the settling of the colonies. When England found that its horde of arrowy little sloops of war could devastate the greatest fleet of battleships ever sent out upon the Atlantic, when through the activities of the Cabots, of Smith, of Raleigh, the far ends of the earth lifted their nebulous bulk upon the English horizon, when the shuttle of English commerce brought the woof-thread ever stronger, ever more variegated, into the central loom of London, then there grew to full stature that virile English pride of blood and brain which has since been modified only in objective trend, if at all. It had its soundest basis in the acquisition of a new imaginative outlook. World-vision opened up before the English eye. No end was beyond the national effort to compass. Over-sea empire materialized; the glory of Shakespeare and the Elizabethan drama was realized.

This adventurous spirit of freedom and self-trust flowed directly into the three or four southernmost of the thirteen colonies. It emanated originally from those castes of Englishmen to whom a rich flavor and zest of living meant more than exile and new home-building for non-conformance to a creed. Free-living, broad-dreaming Englishmen became self-trusting, aspiring North Carolinians and Virginians. That boldest dreamer of them all, Walter Raleigh, poured out upon this Carolinian shore an anointing breath of freedom, of breadth and confidence. More than ever was he our own time-spirit, when on the occasion of his final voyage he staked his life against a dream, played and bravely lost.

We have remained true to the vision of Raleigh, and have lived out the expanding, upward-urging spirit of self-dependence bred into us by England through him.

In view, then, of the State's legitimate pride in what it has done—and a great company of high achievements stand ready to answer to the name of North Carolina—in view of the State's trust in its potentialities of greatness in many different spheres of activity, need we hesitate to confess that this mood of satisfied approval is pervasive enough to cover a field over which it has no right to spread? If we have grown to believe that in one particular division of literature we possess more than we actually own, it is a viewpoint quite compatible with that well-premised pride with which North Carolina regards its past achievements.

The popular estimate of North Carolina poetry is too high. Perhaps the statement will not be controverted that the undiscerning look with a surprising degree of complaisance upon the poetical output of the State. No critical balance is struck: the worthy and the not-so-good are accorded each a reading, an easy word of commendation—and forgotten. The printed volume of a fellow-statesman's poetry is examined in a mood of warm sectional patriotism. Its faults are glozed, its merits exalted because it is another volume to be proudly added to our shelf of North Carolina poets. Many have asserted, for instance, that Joseph W. Holden's "Hatteras" is one of the finest of Southern poems, but who has further distinguished it by adding that the eighth stanza, beginning with the line, "Can mortal tongue in song convey," is so far below the level of the remainder that it might well be an interpolation by an alien hand?

State pride is a prolific source of this popular over-estimation. In its train comes indifference to correct standards of criticism, as deplorable from this source as when it emanates from ignorance. The final regretful concomitant is a prevalent apathy among those classes capable of intelligent, constructive criticism, apathy toward the good as well as the unworthy productions. Common opinion, these feel, has placed a sufficiently high valuation upon a particular work. Why measure it by a Victorian standard?

Certainly the published anthologies of State verse have done nothing to correct this error. At least two of the three collections of North Carolina poetry have presented the good, bad and commonplace side by side, without caution or distinction. The first, published in 1854, offers the work of sixty different versifiers. The last, published in 1912, presents thirty-six separate poets. The work of each compiler suggests a searching far and near for every single piece of native poetical writing worthy, in the compiler's opinion, of inclusion in the volume. One of the prefaces tells of selective quests in the earlier collections, in newspapers, old text-books and magazines. We cannot but wish it told of

the exclusion of this or that poem or author because of failure to measure up to a definitely chosen literary standard.

The result is both amazing and misleading: amazing because of the mediocrity of a number of the selected offerings; misleading because of the lack of balance resulting from the presentation of writers of such disproportionate ability and attainments in a single grouping. The four or five names which should stand out preëminently are roped back with the general class.

Such compilations are excellent for purposes of record, but not for study by high school students, far less by the sixth or seventh grade pupils to whom one of the collections is dedicated. There is too much dross with the gold. This work is not a setting forth of the inherently good and worthy, nor are the poems included truly representative. Any State desires to have its best work in a given field considered as representative, not all its work of all degrees of richness and poverty.

Our grade and high school students do not need to know the poorer products of State versification. No one but the specially equipped student along researching lines needs to know. If our students are to grow up with the idea that North Carolina has produced good poetry, and can produce better, let us give them Boner, McNeill, Stockard and Sledd in plenty and spare them the disillusioning tedium of studying mediocrities.

Again, when such anthologies pass beyond State bounds they show to unbiased critics the paucity of our poetical past. The presentation of a weak reason deprives a good argument of its strength. These books offer many weak reasons with seeming deliberateness. Let our claim rest rather upon the few who have done good work. Massachusetts could doubtless put forth a voluminous folio upon a basis similarly broad. We do not find, however, such a volume either in the hands of the secondary school student of that State or on the shelves of statewares displayed to the public. On the contrary, a limited company of the worthy—Lowell, Holmes, Whittier, Emerson—are set forth with their good work, as truly representative. So too would we do well to put all our enthusiasm and pride into supporting our four ablest poets. We need to centralize upon them, to buy them, study them, teach them, preach them, at the same time realizing that the lesser craftsmen have striven worthily. All praise to them and thanks, as useful emulators, as inculcators of the poetic idea throughout the State.

Is, then, our argument that North Carolina has produced good poetry a sound argument? Is there basis in fact for the claim? Emphatically, yes: a sounder basis, in a restricted field, than the loyal overestimators of the entire output have realized.

Time not only takes from the true craftsman a lifelong toll of effort, but demands stay of sentence for a certain period following the completion of his work. Lasting judgment of an artist's creations presupposes a final readjustment of the general vision, and this has eventuated in the cases of at least two of our poets: John Henry Boner and John Charles McNeill. Recognition has come more slowly to Boner than to McNeill, due to his long residence outside the State and to the greater seriousness of his outlook. McNeill had his audience with him, it is true, during his lifetime, but the six years elapsed since his death have undoubtedly served to assure his gracious preëminence. Add to these two other names, Stockard and Sledd, and our poetical roster is complete.

Yet what a group it is! Earnest, able, ambitious, State-loving, above all conscientious, these have made our poetry what it is. In a greater than sectional sense it is good because they have lived and worked. They have put relativity into our verse. They have fed a flame, already lighted, so that now it shines with immeasurably clearer radiance than ever before.

Time has granted true perspective for only two of them, Boner having died eleven years ago and McNeill six. Dr. Sledd is still speaking for himself. A month ago his voice rang out from London with fine poetic fervor. We may be certain that his productions will assume always nobler proportions, for he is endowed with the true poet's temperament and vision. For Mr. Stockard and his poems it is difficult to find the illuminating phrase. One can scarcely realize that this kindly, generous singer of beautiful songs, maker of charming sonnets, is no longer here to fill his distinguished position in the intellectual life of the State. Yet the universal regret for his loss will make his self-expressive poems doubly dear. He knew the "beauty cast from time long past," and made it very real to the lovers of his poems. He bequeathed sincerity of purpose to his countrymen, and a painstaking watchfulness of detail best illustrated by his choice of the sonnet as a favored medium of expression. His is the method of approach which the coming generation of State poets will do well to follow. His influence will be lasting, just as his life has been memorable for its genuineness and dignity.

It is not alone the aligning passage of time which singles out the work of Boner and McNeill as the actual basis for our claim. Other things have worked together with them. These are the gradual change of intellectual attitude throughout the State; the increasing efficiency in educational methods; the approving seal put upon sincerity of purpose by such recognition as the Patterson cup; the directive energy of so

able an organization as this Association; above all, a Statewide willingness to listen sympathetically.

Yet had Boner and McNeill striven alone in a barren field, they would not have failed of success. They are the first poets of the State to lend a professional note to native poetry. They published volumes not at their own expense, but on the invitation of publishers who sought them out, who desired their productions, and who paid a stipulated royalty on volumes sold. They approached their art with intelligent respect, knowing that poetical feeling alone does not warrant breaking into poetical expression. They knew that the feeling must be supported by an intimate comprehension of a group of highly specialized laws.

By living so long away from his native State, Boner submitted himself to a severer standard of criticism than McNeill. The latter, one might say, deliberately limited his sphere. If Boner had done likewise, recognition would have been earlier accorded him by his fellow-statesmen.

The fourteen years spent by Boner in New York are responsible, however, for an acknowledged eminence in letters which he was the first North Carolinian to reach. His editorial and critical abilities were generously conceded by such men as E. C. Stedman, I. K. Funk, and Richard Watson Gilder. Beyond the bounds of his State he was recognized as North Carolina's first man of letters. It is to be happily observed in this connection that a second man of letters stands forth in the State; a second, and in the difficult field of literary criticism, a greater. Today Dr. Archibald Henderson takes not only this rank, but that of a scholar of international reputation, an authority in a formative and involved field, a writer whose critical accolade is well worth the winning.

Nevertheless it is in his poetry that Boner lives. No poet of the State has touched his harp with so sure a hand, nor has had before his mind's eye so clear a vision of beauty. His lips phrased songs of high imagining and well-nigh impeccable workmanship. From ballad to sonnet his technique is unfaltering. It is the smoothness of well-polished art, because he added minutely careful finish to true poetic insight.

His vista is wide. A fuller reading of his lyrics cannot but convince us that he has deepened the channel of native poetic thought. Poems of his own State, poems of sentiment, of nature, of imagination he has given out in abundance; personal poems also which become universal in application, setting forth as they do that wonder we all have felt, wonder that the strife of living should have to be so grievous, success so elusive, support from within so difficult to maintain.

The circumstances of Boner's life solemnized his outlook without darkening it. The postponement of material success, accompanied by

a certain melancholy of self-realization, spiritualized his later vision. Whatever of indifference there may have been in his early life toward the sober splendor of death and life in death, Boner grew to full realization of the divine purpose in creation. Judged by the quality of his poems of spiritual reflection, this poet's steps led him not infrequently to the mountain-top where a far-away sun is always shining. The faith expressed in his rarely excellent sonnet, "If I Could But Escape Life's Fretting Ills," is of a degree and force which could not fail to distill an inner content through a life circumstanced as was his.

A just estimate of Boner's poetry results in the free acknowledgment that his is work which will not die. There is full-voiced music in his verse; there is power and keen-lived spirituality; there is reverence for the God of the Open and of his Soul. His contribution to the poetical literature of the State lies in point of view as well as in production. He believed in the infinite pains that go to make excellence, in preparation, polish and restraint.

McNeill, it must be noted, proclaimed no new theory of loveliness, left metaphysics untouched and introspection unuttered, yet he has taken our hearts in his strong, gentle-fingered hands and laid them close against his own, there to feel the warmth and cleanness and truth of him. He has done a difficult thing, and therein lies his especial merit: he has given expression to the mood and circumstances of his people.

Next in importance to giving humanity a new and better understanding of life, and only a degree less in value, is the ability to sum up the mood through which that humanity has been passing. Whenever a people continues to face the same problem through a stretch of years, to hold the same attitude even if unconsciously, there comes one who gives form and order to the drawn-out state of mind. Richard Burton in his "Anatomy of Melancholy" analyzed the introspective despondency which had dominated England for the previous sixty years. Mackenzie epitomized the early novel of sentiment in his frankly-titled "Man of Feeling." For us McNeill did much the same thing. He looked at life about him, saw it with fresh vision, and put it into poetry. He caught the glamor of the South: the gracious reticence of its women, the courtly deference of its men, the suave gentility of living, the odor of a Southern rose-garden, October and arbutus,—things we love the better for hearing McNeill tell us what we have always thought of them.

The frequent brevity of his poems and the stimulating abruptness with which they end leave a picture vividly impressed; yet it is an old familiar scene beautified, heightened and made vivid—and we are glad to have it so. The technical form is often unpretentious, almost to

artlessness, but that again is good art. The freshness of his conception stands forth resplendently.

No better delineation of rural life and of the negro nature is to be found in Southern poetry. McNeill, moreover, is of the order of Cavalier Poets which the South more than any other section is best qualified to produce. His present popularity is richly merited by the warmth and sweetness of his singing.

Thus far has native poetry developed. What is next to come? Surely these four gentlemen who have wrought so splendidly would be the first to say that the great flowering of Carolinian poetry is yet to be. It is inevitable. Inspiration is on every hand. Inclination exists in each locality. Precedent has been set. Ability waits only to be guided.

Herein lies the obligation of the State. If we wish to encourage the native poetic instinct to fullest expression, to stimulate it to fine propulsive vigor, we must first teach the coming generation of writers that poetic feeling alone cannot result in true poetry until it has been refined, polished, restrained, and supported by greater feeling and more work.

It is good to stand before Mt. Mitchell or beside the rapids of the French Broad and *feel* the scene strongly enough to be moved to expression. We need to feel more of it. In the variegated life about us dramatic qualities are everywhere waiting to be seen by the finer senses. Walter Pater says: "How shall we pass most swiftly from point to point and be present always at the focus where the greatest number of vital forces unite in their purest energy? To burn always with this hard gem-like flame, to maintain this ecstacy, is success in life."

Yet feeling alone is no warrant for the expression of feeling in the most exact and demanding of all the arts. Poetry is a stream whose banks are well-defined, whose channel must be known. Poetic feeling must be made to kindle a great desire for real facility of expression. Unnumbered writers of verse in North Carolina have glowed with feeling and turned immediately to expression. If, with the feeling once expressed, they have been too prone to let it stand and make its bid for rank as literature, they have done a very human thing. Who does not know the pleasure of weaving parti-colored words into the patterned likeness of an idea? And once it is done, only the most level-headed appreciator of the relativeness of merit can resist the praise of others less able than himself. Only those who have tried know how difficult it is to write even half well. The coming poet must feel, must "burn always with this hard gem-like flame," but he must realize that his feeling can grip another's intellect only when his form of expression has grown polished, smooth and conscientiously exact.

The new generation of writers must be made to see, moreover, that a limited output closes one of the avenues to eminence. Every man loves the thing he has created, yet in a literary sense "each man kills the thing he loves" if he lets it stand alone, unflanked by the lesser preceding accomplishment and the greater effort following. Joseph Holden's "Hatteras" is indeed a valuable poem, yet it is practically the only poem of especial merit bearing his signature. Why did he not write more? Why leave this thing he loved to suffer from its isolation? Very many of the lesser poets of the State would have won a higher rating if they had written more, granted that the continued endeavor were cumulative in intention.

The genius of Poe is needed to secure fame with an extremely limited output. Let our new poet speak out freely. Many phases of life must be touched, animated, laid bare before a writer can reach true poetic stature. The poet is an understander of life not in a single aspect or instance, briefly set forth, but in a broad, full, rich and loving comprehension.

Then let us emphasize this feeling, polish, and freedom of utterance. Let our high school teachers of English, when they interpret the work of our worthiest poets, put the thought daily into their students' minds that the truest poet yet to sing in North Carolina is about to string his lyre. Let us meet him with new standards of comparison and criticism, with worthy forms of recognition and encouragement, and love him while he is living. He has almost reached us. He is coming up the hill, just beyond the crest, his young face aglow with confidence and promise.

North Carolina Oratory

By J. M. McConnell, Professor of History and Economics in Davidson College.

Any attempt to name or select the leading orators of our State is beset with peculiar difficulties. The criticism of poetry, fiction or essays is considered the province of *literateurs* only and the average man foregoes an expression of opinion; but in the case of oratory, the general public takes a lively interest and feels entirely competent to pass a safe and accurate judgment. In this land of free speech and discussion, where all matters of moment have to receive popular approval, every cross-roads has its local orator and every section or faction its favorite speaker. I take it, however, that those initiating a movement to collect the literary works of North Carolinians wish in the field of oratory to distinguish between mere speaking and real oratory. Let us understand, then, that oratory means the expression, in language simple, beautiful, and impressive, of great common truths, or ennobling thoughts, on an occasion and at a time when these truths or thoughts are stirring the hearts or gripping the minds of men unable to express them for themselves. Vance's Duties in Defeat (1866), or Moore's Argument in the case of the State v. the Slave, Will, would fall flat today. You have to project yourself by imagination into the past to get any idea of their effect. Also, oratory is so much a part of personality, the speaker's physical characteristics, his facial expression, voice, and manner, that it is often difficult to distinguish between the real art and elocution or declamation. Merely to see Webster, with his massive head and herculean shoulders rise in the Senate chamber was an impressive sight; to hear Clay, with a face beaming love to all mankind and a voice like a deep-toned bell, utter the simple phrase "The days that are past and gone," brought tears to your eyes. As some one has said, oratory is a matter of nerves and the blood. Unless a man can "catch fire," feel the tingling of nerves and the rush of hot blood, he cannot be eloquent.

Despite the difficulties of the task and fully aware that my treatment of the subject will show signs of incompleteness, I shall undertake to name some of the leading orators of North Carolina, with one or more of their speeches. For convenience and also for a better understanding and appreciation of historical conditions, I shall treat the subject in four divisions: First, the period of national rights (1789-1820); second, the period of the Rise of Democracy and the Slavery-Tariff Strug-

gle (1820-1860); third, the Civil War period (1860-1880); fourth, the period of Applied Democracy (1880-1914). You will notice that I have omitted the Colonial and Revolutionary periods. We doubtless had some effective speakers in these periods, but I have not found any that could be classed as orators.

In the period of *National Rights* two names should be mentioned, Archibald D. Murphey and William Gaston. Both were men of striking talents, well versed in literature and accomplished speakers. Of the two, however, Gaston's style is superior. Though somewhat rhetorical at times, in keeping with the custom of speakers of that period, he had a literary finish and a fullness of expression that Murphey's speeches do not show. His best efforts were one on the Loan Bill in Congress (1815); his speech in the Convention of 1835, opposing political restrictions against Roman Catholics; and his address at the University of North Carolina and at Princeton University. In a sketch of Murphey's life Governor Graham refers to his speech in the case of Burrow v. Worth, as never having been surpassed "in the forensic displays of the State." Murphey's address before the literary societies of the University of North Carolina is valuable because of references it contains to the leading orators of the State in earlier days. Of W. R. Davie he says: "In the House of Commons he had no rival, and upon all great questions which came before that body his eloquence was irresistible." Again he says, "His style was magnificent and flowing." Of Alfred Moore, for a short time Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, he says: "The public was divided upon the question whether he or Davie excelled at the bar. His speeches were short and impressive. When he sat down every one thought he had said everything that he ought to have said." Of John Stanly, Murphey writes, "He became the most accomplished orator of the State." I have not myself been able to read speeches of any of the men described by Murphey in such glowing terms.

In the *second period* selected for our discussion comes quite a group of names. Among them George E. Badger, W. P. Mangum, B. F. Moore, W. A. Graham, James K. Polk, and Henry W. Miller.

Badger spoke chiefly before the law courts, but was also a conspicuous figure in the United States Senate. Though his style seems to me to lack the literary excellence of Gaston's, he possessed a spontaneity, fluency, and ease of expression that made him a ready and effective speaker. Clearness, self-confidence, readiness, characterize his style. His personality was also attractive and commanding. His speeches in the Senate attracted wide attention. The one on Slavery and the Union delivered in 1848 is probably his best.

In his address on Vance, Mr. R. H. Battle says that "for graces of magnificent oratory" W. P. Mangum "is preëminent in the State." I have had access only to his speeches in Congress, but on examination these did not cause me to rate him quite so high. His fluency, ease and readiness are much like Badger's, and he possessed the same lawyer's quickness in debate. The best brief example of his style I found was his speech on the bill appropriating three million dollars for national defense. It is largely an attack on Van Buren and shows the fire and spirit of a real orator. Mr. Colyer Meriwether in the volume on Southern Biography, in "The South in the Building of the Nation" series, names Mangum as one of three men around whom the greatest part of North Carolina history can be grouped. Macon and Vance are the other two.

B. F. Moore, known as "Father of the North Carolina Bar," was a lawyer of great learning and reputation in the State. He did not possess many of the graces of oratory and probably would be omitted by some in a list of the State's orators, but his argument in the case of the State v. the Negro Slave, Will, touched such a vital issue of the times (the right of the negro slave to defend himself against personal attack by his owner or his agent), and is done in such excellent fashion, that I think he deserves a place among the State's orators.

To this group also belongs James K. Polk, born and educated in North Carolina, though for most of his life a resident of Tennessee. As an orator President Polk was simple and direct. He lacked imagination and figurative expression, but was extremely clear and direct. The title "Napoleon of the Stump" given him by his admirers in Tennessee seems extravagant. Among his best speeches are his speech on the tariff, House of Representatives, 1834, and his inaugurals when he became Governor of Tennessee and when he was inaugurated President.

Though more of a statesman and constructive leader than an orator, Governor W. A. Graham had such a comprehensive grasp of the essential needs of his State, was so highly cultured, polished and elegant in his manner of doing things, that his speeches were quite effective and well received. His voice was excellent and his presence striking and commanding. Though rather dignified and formal, his style has forcefulness and finish.

With the men of this period should be included Henry Watkins Miller, a graduate of the University of North Carolina in 1834. In his History of the University of North Carolina Dr. Kemp P. Battle mentions that during a congressional campaign between Miller and Romulus M. Saunders in the forties, the University faculty gave a half-holiday

to hear a joint debate between the candidates. He says Miller was famous as an orator and always used polished language. Mr. Miller delivered the commencement address at the University in 1857. Dr. Battle in describing the occasion refers to the speaker as "a distinguished orator and eminent lawyer." John P. Kennedy, in his life of William Wirt, says that Miller, when beginning his career as a lawyer, wrote to Mr. Wirt for advice as to the best means of acquiring grace as an orator. In Mr. Kennedy's opinion, Miller's future fully justified his seeking directions from the distinguished Virginian.

In the *Civil War* period one name stands out preëminent. Examine any general collection of oratory you may choose and, almost without exception, you will find that Z. B. Vance is selected as the representative of North Carolina. Gaston and Badger, and perhaps others, unquestionably surpassed him in literary training and finish and it seems were equally as fluent. But in freshness and originality of thought and expression, in a rich vein of humor and a warm human touch, Vance surpassed all the other great speakers of our State. He could captivate, hold and sway a great audience as probably no other speaker of our State has ever done. Imagination, originality, humor, sentiment, remarkable powers of expression, a splendid voice, a compelling manner and a superb physique all combined to make him almost an ideal orator. Mr. Colyer Meriwether, in Southern Biography, says of him: "Vance was one of the most upright, facile, marvelous voices that a local democracy has ever found for uttering its hopes and aspirations. The son of a small farmer and slave-owner in the western part of the State; of limited education, obtained almost in the little neighborhood schools; of tall, commanding presence; of abounding humor, unfailing cheerfulness and ever-ready homely wit, he was bountifully endowed by both nature and circumstance to be an interpreter for the two great social classes in his State." His best speeches probably were made on the stump during political campaigns, but occasionally he delivered formal addresses. Among his best printed productions are "The Scattered Nation," "The Duties of Defeat," and his speeches in the United States Senate on the tariff.

In the era of *Applied Democracy* (1880-1914), following the Civil War, no one has so impressed himself upon the people of our State as an orator of rank as the late Charles B. Aycock. He had a great theme, the education of all the people, which appealed to him with all the force of a definite call. Governor Aycock's style and ability as an orator are too well known to this audience to need description here. Simplicity of language, sincerity of purpose, fluency of utterance, aptness of illustration and an unrestrained fervor were his chief characteristics.

His style and theme are perhaps best illustrated by his speech before the Southern Educational Association, Jacksonville, 1903.

For obvious reasons I shall not undertake to name our present-day orators. And yet I feel that there will be general agreement when I say that Dr. E. A. Alderman, a son of North Carolina, now President of the University of Virginia, has won for himself as an orator a national fame that has brought honor to his native State. Among his best productions are his speech on Virginia, excellent for its mechanics of style and a certain richness of feeling; one on J. L. M. Curry, a careful study of a unique personality; and a sympathetic study of the life and work of Charles D. McIver, himself a speaker of great force and influence in the State.

In closing we may draw some general conclusions:

First, our State has produced a number of orators of genuine merit, whose speeches deserve to be collected as examples of our literary works in the field of oratory.

Second, most of our prominent speakers have been members of the legal profession. This is due to two reasons as I see it: because we have had an exceptionally able bar throughout the history of the State, and because the jury trial, the most fundamental of all our democratic institutions, has offered a splendid opportunity for the training of oratorical gifts. The members of the State bar have enjoyed the confidence of the people, and have filled a large number of the highest offices in the gift of the people.

Third, anyone undertaking to collect specimens of North Carolina oratory should be in easy reach of the State records and the files of the University. Most of our prominent speakers have been connected as students, or otherwise, with the University of North Carolina, or have held high official position in the State.

North Carolina Bibliography for the Year

BY MISS MINNIE W. LEATHERMAN, SECRETARY OF THE LIBRARY COMMISSION OF NORTH CAROLINA.

The term bibliography is used here in its broadest sense. Most of us believe that once a North Carolinian always a North Carolinian, even though one may reside in some other State for fifty years. On the other hand, we all know that it is impossible for anyone so unfortunate as to have been born outside of North Carolina to come into the State and live among us for any length of time without getting a good deal of tar on his heels and becoming a pretty good sort of North Carolinian. Hence, this bibliography includes not only the work of men and women born in North Carolina and still residing within its borders, but also the work of those North Carolinians who are living in other States as well as of those men and women who claim North Carolina by adoption.

This year I was requested to introduce a new feature into the bibliography and to include not only books, parts of books, and pamphlets, but also contributions to magazines and other periodical publications. This has been done, but of course it is manifestly impossible to have this part of the report complete.

The report is divided into four parts:

1. New Books and Pamphlets
2. Reprints
3. Continuations
4. Contributions to Periodicals.

NEW BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

ARTHUR, John Preston. Western North Carolina; a history from 1730-1913. 710 pages, por. facsim. Edward Buncombe Chapter of the D. A. R. of Asheville (Edwards & Broughton Printing Co.), 1914. $2.50.

BAKER, Mrs. G. S. (Eugene Hall, pseud.) Vernal Dune. N. Y. Neale, 1913.

BROOKS, Eugene Clyde. Agriculture and Rural Life Day; material for its observance. (Bureau of Education Bulletin, 1913, No. 43.) 77 pages, O. Superintendent of Documents. Paper, 10 cents.

BROUGHTON, Leonard Gaston. Christianity and the Commonplace. 201 pages, D. Doran (June), 1914. $1.00 net.

BROUGHTON, Leonard Gaston. The Prodigal and Others. 234 pages, D. Revell (March), 1914. $1.00 net.

BROUGHTON, Leonard Gaston. Where Are the Dead? with testimony

by the Rev. F. B. Meyer and others. 394 pages, O., illustrated. Atlanta, Phillips-Boyd Publishing Company, 1914. $1.50.

Cobb, Collier. Pocket Dictionary of Common Rocks and Rock Minerals. 42 pages. Chapel Hill, University of N. C., c1914 (printed by the Seeman Printery).

Dixon, Thomas. The Victim; a romance of the real Jefferson Davis; illustrated by J. N. Marchand. 510 pages, D. Appleton (June), 1914. $1.35 net.

Foster, Carolyn Agnes (Mrs. Edgar M. Marlbourg). Carter Family of North Carolina; Descendants of Robert Carter, of Bertie County. 40 pages, O., illustrated, portrait. Richmond, Whittet & Shepperson, pref. 1914. $2.50.

Fulton, Maurice Garland. College Life; its conditions and problems. Macmillan, 1914.

Graves, T. S. The Court and the London Theater during the Reign of Elizabeth. 93 pages, O. Banta Publishing Company, 1913. Paper, 50 cents.

Hamilton, J. G. de Roulhac. Reconstruction in North Carolina. (Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, Vol. 58, No. 141.) 693 pages, O. Longmans (July), 1914. $4.50 net; paper, $4.00.

Haywood, Marshall De Lancey. Ballads of Courageous North Carolinians; some versified legends of the Old North State founded upon fact, fancy and fiction. 51 pages, D. Edwards & Broughton Printing Company (December), 1914. $1.00.
May be obtained from Alfred Williams, Raleigh.

Henderson, Archibald. The Changing Drama—contributions and tendencies. 321 pages. Holt (October), 1914. $1.50 net.
English edition published in London by Grant Richards.

Henderson, Archibald. European Dramatists. 395 pages, D., illustrated. Stewart & Kidd (December), 1913. $1.50 net.
English edition published in London by Grant Richards, 1914.

Henry, Beulah Louise. Silent Chords. 54 pages. Charlotte, 1914.

Hill, William Laurie. Master of the Red Buck and Bay Doe. 297 pages, D., illustrated. Charlotte, Stone Publishing Company (December), 1913. $1.50 net.

Johnson, C. H. Your Uncle Charlie's Poetical Love Letters. 45 pages. Paper, 25 cents.
May be obtained from the author at East Bend, N. C.

Johnson, J. McNeill. Thousand Years With Royalty; a story of the English kings. 94 pages, por., D. Bell, c1913.

Morley, Margaret Warner. Spark of Life. 62 pages. Revell, 1913. 25 cents.

MORLEY, Margaret Warner. Will o' the Wisps. 161 pages, D., illustrated. McClurg (December), 1913. $1.25.

RIDDLE, C. B., Editor. College Men Without Money. 287 pages, D. Crowell, 1914. $1.00.

ROLLINS, James M. Arrest, Trial and Conviction of Jesus Christ from a Lawyer's Standpoint. 71 pages, por., S. St. Louis, Hughes Printing Company, n. d. $1.00.

SIKES, William Marvin. The Gospel for the Laymen's Age. 148 pages. Broadway Publishing Company, 1913.

TIERNAN, Mrs. Frances Christine (Fisher). (Christian Reid, pseud.) Cords of Nature; a story. Columbus Press, 1913. 5 cents.

TIERNAN, Mrs. Frances Christine (Fisher). Daughter of a Star. 349 pages, D. Devin-Adair (December), 1913. $1.35 net.

TILLERY, A. V. Dream verses. Rocky Mount, Transcript Press. 48 pages.

WEEKS, Stephen B., Compiler and Editor. Index to the Colonial and State Records of North Carolina, Vol. 4 (S-Z), with an historical review. Raleigh, E. M. Uzzell & Co., 1914. 440-169 pages, Q. $3.00.

WHITING, Mrs. Roberta Harris. Rose Petals. 51 pages, Q. Broadway Publishing Company, c1913. $1.00.

REPRINTS

BOYD, William K. Currency and Banking in North Carolina, 1790-1834. 35 pages, O.

Reprinted from the Historical Papers, Series 10, published by the Trinity College Historical Society.

BOYD, William K. Finances of the North Carolina Literary Fund. 22 pages, O.

A reprint of articles in the *South Atlantic Quarterly* of July and October, 1914. See below.

COLTON, Elizabeth Avery. Approximate Value of Recent Degrees of Southern Colleges. 14 pages, O.

Reprinted from the Proceedings of the Nineteenth Annual Meeting of the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools of the South, 1913.

COLTON, Elizabeth Avery. Improvement in Standards of Southern Colleges Since 1900. 20 pages, O.

Reprinted from the Proceedings of the tenth annual meeting of the Southern Association of College Women, 1913, by the United States Bureau of Education.

HENDERSON, Archibald. August Strindberg: Universalist.

Reprinted from the *South Atlantic Quarterly,* January, 1914. 15 pages. See below.

Henderson, Archibald. An American Bookshelf. 10 pages.
Reprinted for the *Sewanee Review* of October, 1914. See below.
The Creative Forces in Westward Expansion. 21 pages.
Reprinted for the *American Historical Review* of October, 1914. See below.

Weeks, Stephen B. Historical Review of the Colonial and State Records of North Carolina. 169 pages, Q. Raleigh, Trustees of the Public Libraries, 1914.
Reprinted from the fourth volume of the Index to the North Carolina Colonial and State Records.

Winston, R. W. Legal Reform, Genuine and Spurious. Address delivered before the South Carolina Bar Association at a meeting held at Columbia, S. C. Washington, 1914. (63d Congress, 2d session, Senate document No. 377.)

CONTINUATIONS

North Carolina Booklet, January-October, 1914:
Volume XIII, No. 3. New Year's Shooting, an ancient German custom, by William A. Graham; Early Times on the Cape Fear, by S. A. Ashe; Abstract of Vol. 2 of Dr. Battle's History of the University of North Carolina; Rowan County Marriage Bonds, by Mrs. M. G. McCubbins.
Volume XIII, No. 4. Memories of 1865-1871, by J. T. Alderman; Anson County, by Mrs. J. G. Boylin; The Pflegerin, by Adelaide L. Fries; Biographical Sketch of Mrs. Spier Whitaker, by Mrs. E. E. Moffitt.
Volume XIV, No. 1. Heraldry and its Usage in the Colony of North Carolina, by Mary Hilliard Hinton; The State of Franklin, by S. A. Ashe; Sir Richard Everard * * * and his Descendants in Virginia, by Marshall De Lancey Haywood.
Volume XIV, No. 2. Extracts from Remarks Delivered at Roanoke Island Celebration, August, 1914, by Howard E. Rondthaler; General Francis Nash, by A. M. Waddell; Early English Survivals on Hatteras Island, by Collier Cobb; The Weather, by R. B. Creecy; The Cary Will; Biographical Sketches of Contributors.

North Carolina Historical Commission—North Carolina Manual—for the use of the members of the General Assembly; compiled and edited by R. D. W. Connor. 1053 pages, D. E. M. Uzzell & Company, 1913.

North Carolina Year Book and Business Directory, 1914. 468 pages, map, D. Raleigh, *News and Observer,* 1914. $2.00.

STUDIES IN PHILOLOGY, published under the direction of the Philological Club of the University of North Carolina. Vols. 10-11.

JAMES SPRUNT HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS, published under the direction of the North Carolina Historical Society, edited by J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton and Henry M. Wagstaff. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina. Vol. 13.

TRINITY COLLEGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Historical Papers, Series 10.

The *South Atlantic Quarterly, North Carolina Education, Skyland,* the *North Carolina Library Bulletin* and the publications of the various colleges and universities have been issued regularly during the year.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO PERIODICALS

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Mrs. Henderson's remarkable translation, prefaced by an article by Archibald Henderson, appeared in the *New York Times* of October 15, 1914. Since that time it has appeared in the leading magazines throughout the English speaking world—in the *Outlook* of October 28; the *Independent* of November 2; the *Literary Digest* of November 4; the *London Daily Mail* of October 28; the *London Times* of October 29; and virtually all the leading English newspapers. It was also widely copied in Japan.

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Presentation of Gifts to the State

BY PRESIDENT ARCHIBALD HENDERSON.

Ladies and Gentlemen: On December 4, 1912, at a meeting of this Association, I had the honor to secure the passage of a series of resolutions looking to the stimulation and enlargement of our literary and cultural activities. Of these resolutions, which were carried, one reads as follows:

> That this Association appoint a committee, consisting of five members, men and women, to petition the Building Committee for the reservation of adequate space in the projected new Hall of History, to be used permanently as a section devoted to the literature of North Carolina. Furthermore, that this committee be permanent, having for its objects to honor in tangible form the literary achievements of our people, and to preserve the literary remains of our native writers of eminence. That this be done through the preservation and display, in the section before mentioned in the new Hall of History, of portraits of our men and women of letters, autographed sets of their works, original manuscripts, letters from eminent men and women of letters testifying to the value of such literary works, medallions, busts, and all forms of suitable memorials, which may keep green the memory of noble works, finely conceived and artfully executed.

I do not know whether or not this committee was ever appointed, but I do know that the Secretary of this Association, Mr. R. D. W. Connor, who has labored so unselfishly and unremittingly in the interest of the Association, has written many letters to stimulate interest in these matters. Feeling most strongly, as I do, that literary memorials displayed in the Hall of History, for the inspection of the 100,000 people who pass through it in a year, will serve as a powerful incentive and inspiration to native literary talent, and awaken in our people a due sense of pride in North Carolina's literary contribution; I have proceeded this year upon my own initiative to encourage such gifts of literary and other memorials to the State.

Tonight there will occur the exercises in connection with the unveiling of the O. Henry Memorial. We have heard this morning an eloquent tribute to that distinguished poet, whose poems were nationally appreciated by great poets and often found first publication in our greatest national magazines, the late Henry Jerome Stockard. I beg to present to the Hall of History, on behalf of Mrs. Stockard, an autograph copy, with signature, of Dr. Stockard's notable poem in memory of the Women of the Confederacy read upon the occasion of the unveiling of the monument presented to the State by the late Ashley Horne.

Some years ago I had the pleasure of publishing a little monograph on Elizabeth Maxwell Steel, whose presentation of two bags of gold to General Nathanael Greene in the darkest hour of his reverses in the campaign of the Carolinas, is an episode celebrated in our national annals. In that monograph were reproduced for the first time a series of extremely interesting letters, concerned with military, local and family affairs during the years 1778 to 1786, written from Salisbury, N. C., by Mrs. Steel to her brother, Ephraim Steel, in Carlisle, Pa. These letters belonged to the Misses Martha Jane and Margaret Anne Steele, the grand-daughters of Ephraim Steel. Of these ladies it has been written: "They have lived nearly all of their days in Carlisle, are known by its entire community, and are universally loved and esteemed for their modest worth and kindly ways:" I beg to announce, in behalf of these two ladies, their generous gift of these rare and valuable letters of Elizabeth Maxwell Steel to the State of North Carolina. It gives me great pleasure to supplement their gift with a picture in tint of Mrs. Steel and General Greene—after a steel engraving of the original painting by the famous painter of Revolutionary scenes, Alonzo Chappel.

In behalf of the Association, I wish to express our grateful appreciation for the following valuable and unique literary memorials presented to the Hall of History:

A portrait in tone of William Sidney Porter, by the great artist, Van der Weyde, of New York City, presented by Mrs. W. S. Porter.

An autograph poem in Scotch dialect, "Told On," by the "Scotchman," the late John Charles McNeill, donated by his brother, Mr. W. L. McNeill, of Wagram, N. C.

An autograph, unpublished poem, signed "J. H. B.," entitled "De Profundis," written by John Henry Boner, donated by Mrs. Stevenson, of Winston-Salem.

A letter written from Raleigh by John Henry Boner, donated by Miss Amelia Van Vleck, of Winston-Salem, N. C.

A steel engraving of John Henry Boner, donated by Professor Ernest L. Starr, of Salem Academy and College.

Some sheets of the autograph manuscript of O. Henry for one of his famous short stories, donated by Mr. Arthur W. Page, editor of *The World's Work.*

Two books: a presentation copy of "The Impending Crisis," with the dedication and autograph signature of the author, Hinton Rowan Helper, and an association copy of "The Sectional Struggle," with the dedication to the American poet, Edmund Clarence Stedman, and the

autograph signature of the author, Cicero W. Harris, and bearing Stedman's book plate, donated by Archibald Henderson, of Chapel Hill.

In presenting these gifts to the State of North Carolina, in behalf of the authors, I would venture the hope that the custom thus inaugurated may be followed each year at the meetings of the Association, and that these literary and historic memorials may find the worthy place which they deserve in the Hall of History.

NOTE.—In connection with certain of the above mentioned gifts, the following communication was received from Dr. Henderson:

DEAR MR. SECRETARY:—It gives me pleasure to call attention to the fact that, for the gift of the autograph poem and letter of John Henry Boner, the Association is indebted to Professor Ernest L. Starr, of Salem Academy and College, who was instrumental in inspiring the owners to present them to the State.

In a letter to me, Professor Starr, who is an authority on Boner and has written the ablest appreciation of this distinguished North Carolina poet I have ever seen, says of the poem, "De Profundis": "It dates, as exactly as I can place it, from 1876—certainly between 1876 and 1879. You will notice that it was written prior to the publication of his first volume 'Whispering Pines,' Brentanos, 1883." The poem follows below:

DE PROFUNDIS.

O, there are hours when we fain would die,
Times when the mind's philosophy quite fails
To satisfy the heart, whose agony—too deep for wails
Of tearful anguish—grows too keen to bear,
When God seems to despise the piteous prayer
Of the imploring Soul at Heaven's gate,
And His sweet love, that love so sweet in grief
Or pain or death, seems turned to hate.

Dear Lord, if it be sinful, pardon me
For my mind's weakness; but I have a faith
Firm and complete—
That all of us once having tasted Death
Atone for Life, and meet
In Thine Eternity
With equal bliss, Lord, where Thou wilt reveal
All that our vague religions now conceal. J. H. B.

The letter to Miss Amelia Van Vleck, written from Raleigh on May 11, 1864, is remarkable in view of the self-prophecy it contains. Already, young Boner was convinced of the importance of his mission and cherished firm faith in the greatness of his powers, potential if not yet wholly realized, as a poet. The striking passage, which now becomes historic, reads as follows: "I was most agreeably surprised today by meeting with Eug. Williams. I

dearly love him. We spent the forenoon together in strolling about and lounging in Capitol Square—a very fine place, by-the-bye, for a stroll. He is a very ambitious young man, and while we were in the Commons Hall of the State House, speaking of the 'by-gones,' when the arched dome of that royal-looking chamber echoed the eloquent words of Ryner, Shepherd, and others, he suddenly turned to me, with a proud smile upon his face, and said: 'Boner, the day is not far distant when I will occupy one of these seats!' Then *my* courage was aroused, and, with a smile *prouder*, no doubt, than my friend's, I replied: 'Yes, Williams, and the day is not far distant when the Old North State can claim its first Poet!' What lofty castles youth does build! But not *all* dreams are broken—and I fully believe that *mine* will be realized. The poems which I write now are *well received*—and I am sure that I will be able to write more polishedly when I have acquired a knowledge of the language and stored my brain with classic lore. And this I intend to do. It is not too late, by any means. But do not think that I rely upon my *own* strength in all this.—Rest assured, I do not."

O. HENRY EVENING

O. Henry

ADDRESS DELIVERED IN RALEIGH, N. C., DECEMBER 2, 1914, AT THE DEDICATION OF THE O. HENRY MEMORIAL, BY C. ALPHONSO SMITH.

I.

If by some magic power I could re-create the scene that is uppermost in my thought this evening it would be a marriage scene of ninety years ago. The exact date is April 22, 1824, the place a little church village near Greensboro called Center. Jonathan Worth, who was later to become Governor of North Carolina, had wedded two days before Martitia Daniel, of Virginia, and Jonathan Worth's sister Ruth had just married Sidney Porter, of Connecticut. The brother's infare served as wedding reception for the sister. The parents, Doctor and Mrs. David Worth, at whose home the double wedding was being celebrated, were widely known for their hospitality, their charity, and their rare directive efficiency in all community affairs. The little village had never witnessed a scene of so much genial mirth or of such wide-reaching social interest. Could I have been present when the infare was at its height, when congratulation and prophecy were bringing their mingled tributes to father and mother and to son and daughter, I should not have been an unwelcome visitor, I think, if I had lifted the veil of the future for a moment and said to Dr. Worth and his wife: "Eighty-three years from now a statue will be dedicated in the capital of North Carolina to one of Jonathan's grandsons, the first statue to be erected by popular subscription to a North Carolina soldier, and the name engraved upon it will be that of Worth Bagley; and ninety years from today a memorial tablet will be dedicated in the same city to one of Ruth's grandsons, the only monument ever erected in the State to literary genius, and the name engraved upon it will be that of William Sidney Porter."

It is fitting, therefore, that if the State of North Carolina has honored the sword of Jonathan Worth's grandson, she honor equally the pen of his sister's grandson, for both sword and pen were used in the cause of a common national service. It is fitting also to recall that when William Sidney Porter knew that death, and a lonely death, was only an arm's length from him, he smiled in the old way and met it with a cheer, because, says one who was with him, he remembered that honored blood was in his veins and the magic word Sidney in his name.

This is neither the time nor the place for a biography of O. Henry.

The occasion prompts one, however, at least to a survey of his formative years, especially those spent in North Carolina, to a consideration of his success as a short story writer in New York, and to a tentative appraisal of what seems to be his distinctive contribution to American literature.

II.

O. Henry's life falls naturally into two periods, a period of preparation extending to 1902, and a period of achievement extending from 1902, when he settled in New York, to his death in 1910. He was born on West Market street, Greensboro, N. C., September 11, 1862. His mother died when he was only three years old but he cherished through life the tenderest thought of her and used often to speak with mingled pride and affection of the poems that she had written. Her maiden name was Mary Jane Virginia Swaim. She studied at the Edgeworth Female Seminary in Greensboro and at the Greensboro Female College, graduating from the latter in 1850 at the age of seventeen. Her graduating essay bore the title, "The Influence of Misfortune on the Gifted." I have in my possession several of her letters written in early girlhood and one of her text-books, Dr. Archibald Alexander's "Evidences of Christianity." The fly leaves are covered with selections from her favorite poets and with dainty sketches of gates, houses, trees, and flowers. A faded note written by one of her teachers when she was thirteen shows that she was studying algebra, philosophy, English grammar, and rhetoric. "She ranks," says the note, "No. 1 in her studies, has an excellent mind, and will no doubt make a fine scholar."

What is more pertinent, however, is that her letters even as a child show a nimble and alert humor that breaks through the prim formalities of the time with surprising and delightful frequency. One of her classmates writes: "Miss Mary Swaim was noted in her school days as a writer of beautiful English and the school girls came to depend upon her for their compositions. She wrote most of the graduating esaays for the students." In character, in temperament, in literary taste, and in a certain instinctive shyness, O. Henry owed much to his mother.

To his father, Dr. Algernon Sidney Porter, he certainly owed in part his sympathy with all sorts and conditions of men, his overflowing generosity, his indifference to caste,—in a word, his constant and essential democracy. To the same source may be ascribed, through association at least, some of O. Henry's constructive ingenuity. Dr. Porter was for several years the best known and the best loved physician in Guilford County. An old friend of his, to whom the memory of Dr. Porter brought tears, said recently: "He was the best-hearted man I ever knew; honest, high-toned, and generous. Rain or shine, sick or well,

he would visit the poorest family in the county. He would have been a rich man if he had collected a half of what was due him. His iron-gray hair and the shape of his head reminded you of Zeb Vance."

My own memory of Dr. Porter—he died in 1888—is of a small man with a huge head and long beard, quiet, gentle, soft-voiced, self-effacing, who looked at you as if from another world and who walked with a step so noiseless, so absolutely echoless, as to attract attention. This characteristic also was inherited by his gifted son who always seemed to me to be treading on down. They used to say of Dr. Porter that he had a far better scientific knowledge of medicine and drugs than any other physician in the community. He had studied under Dr. David Weir and for a time lectured on chemistry at the Edgeworth Female Seminary of which Dr. Weir was principal. Dr. Porter's interests veered, however, more and more to inventions, and less and less to the actual practice of medicine. A perpetual motion water-wheel became his vocation, his avocations being a churn, a washing machine, a horseless carriage to be run by steam, and a cotton picking contrivance that was to take the place of negro labor. In one of his last interviews O. Henry said that he often found himself recalling the days when as a boy he used to lie sprawling and dreaming on the old barn floor in Greensboro while his father worked quietly and assiduously on his perpetual motion water-wheel.

But the strongest influence brought to bear on O. Henry during his life in North Carolina was the influence of his aunt, Miss Evelina Maria Porter, known by every one as Miss Lina. The death of his mother when he was only three years of age and the increasing absorption of his father in fruitless inventions resulted in Miss Lina's taking the place of both parents, and this she did not only with whole-souled devotion but with rare and efficient intelligence. Her little schoolroom on the Porter premises has long been removed, but it still lives in the grateful memory of all who attended it and has attained a new immortality in the fame of its most brilliant pupil. O. Henry attended no other school and he attended this only to the age of fifteen. Miss Lina did not spare the rod but I have never known a pupil of her school, whether doctor, teacher, preacher, lawyer, or judge, who did not say that every application of the rod, so far as he was concerned, was amply and urgently deserved. To have been soundly whipped by Miss Lina is still regarded in Greensboro as a sort of spiritual bond of union, linking together the citizens of the town in a community of cutaneous experience, for which they would not exchange a college diploma.

But we are more concerned here with Miss Lina's method of teaching literature. She had a method and O. Henry's lifelong love of good

books was the fruitage of her method. She did not teach the history of literature but she labored in season and out of season to have her pupils assimilate the spirit of literature. Her reading in the best English literature was, if not wide, at least intimate and appreciative. She loved books as she loved flowers, because her nature demanded them. Fiction and poetry were her means of widening and enriching her own inner life, not of learning facts about the world without. She did not measure literature by life but life by literature. I have often thought that Miss Lina must have been in O. Henry's thought when he wrote those suggestive words about Azalea Adair in "A Municipal Report": "She was a product of the old South, gently nurtured in the sheltered life. Her learning was not broad, but was deep and of splendid originality in its somewhat narrow scope. She had been educated at home, and her knowledge of the world was derived from inference and by inspiration. Of such is the precious, small group of essayists made. While she talked to me I kept brushing my fingers, trying, unconsciously, to rid them guiltily of the absent dust from the half-calf backs of Lamb, Chaucer, Hazlitt, Marcus Aurelius, Montaigne, and Hood. She was exquisite, she was a valuable discovery. Nearly everybody nowadays knows too much—oh, so much too much—of real life."

Miss Lina used regularly to gather her boys about her at recess and read to them from some classic author. When she saw that she had caught their interest she would announce a Friday night meeting in the schoolroom at which they would pop corn and roast chestnuts and she would continue the readings. "I did more reading," says O. Henry, "between my thirteenth and nineteenth years than I have done in all the years since, and my taste at that time was much better than it is now, for I used to read nothing but the classics. Burton's 'Anatomy of Melancholy' and Lane's translation of 'The Arabian Nights' were my favorites." During his busy years in New York he often remarked to Mrs. Porter: "I never have time to read now. I did all my reading before I was twenty." This did not, of course, refer to newspapers which he devoured three or four times a day.

But Miss Lina believed that the best way to learn or to appreciate the art of narration was to try your hand at it yourself. You might never become a great writer but you would at least have a first-hand acquaintance with the discipline that well-knit narrative involves. In the intervals, therefore, between chestnut roastings and classic readings an original story would be started, every one present having to make an impromptu contribution when called on. Each contribution, being expected to grow naturally out of the incidents that preceded it, demanded

of course the closest attention to all that had hitherto been said. The most difficult role in this narrative program fell of course to the pupil who tried to halt the windings of the story by an interesting and adequate conclusion. To do this required not only a memory that retained vividly the incidents and characters already projected into the story but a constructive imagination that could interpret and fuse them. Need I say that the creator of "The Four Million" found his keenest delight in this exercise or that his contributions were those most eagerly awaited by teacher and pupil?

But when O. Henry's boyhood friends recall him it is not as a pupil in Miss Lina's school; nor is it as the writer in the great city, whose stories count their readers by the million. It is as the clerk in his uncle Clark Porter's drug store on Elm street. Here he was known and loved by old and young, black and white, rich and poor. He was the wag of the town, but so quiet, so unobtrusive, so apparently preoccupied that it was his pencil rather than his tongue that spread his local fame. His feeling for the ludicrous, for the odd, for the distinctive, in speech, tone, appearance, conduct, or character responded instantly to the appeal made by the drug store constituency. Not that he was not witty: he was. But his best things were said with the pencil. There was not a man or woman in the town whom he could not reproduce recognizably with a few strokes of a lead pencil, though he never took a lesson in drawing. Thus it was a common occurrence, when Mr. Clark Porter returned to the store from lunch, for a conversation like this to take place: O. Henry would say: "Uncle Clark, a man called to see you a little while ago to pay a bill." It should be premised that it was not good form in those days to ask a man to stand and deliver either his name or the amount due. "Who was it?" Mr. Porter would ask. "I never saw him before but he looks like this," and the pencil would dash up and down a piece of wrapping paper. "O, that's Bill Jenkins out here at Reedy Fork. He owes me $7.25."

His pencil sketches sometimes gave offense, especially when some admirer would hang them in the store window, but rarely. He was absolutely without malice. There was about him also a gentleness of manner, a delicacy of feeling, a refinement in speech and demeanor that was as much a part of him as his humor. No one who knew him in the old days could be surprised at the indignation with which in later years he resented the constant comparison of his work with that of De Maupassant, though he kept a copy of De Maupassant always at hand. No two writers ever lived more diametrically opposed than O. Henry and De Maupassant except in technique. "I have been called," he said, "the American De Maupassant. Well, I never wrote a filthy word in

my life, and I don't like to be compared to a filthy writer." Vulgarity was never funny to him; it was only disgusting. Like Edgar Allan Poe, with whom he had little else in common, O. Henry was honored during his whole life with the understanding friendship of a few noble-spirited women who in the early days as in the later helped, I think, to keep his compass true.

George Eliot, in "Romola," tells of the part played in mediæval Florence by the barber shop. A somewhat analogous part was played in Greensboro a generation ago by the drug store. Greensboro itself, it may be said, was more than a typical small town. Its widely patronized law school and schools for women, the standing of its preachers and judges, its graded school which was the first to be established in the State, its nearness to the Revolutionary battle field of Guilford Court House, its varied though limited produce due to its mid-state situation, and the comparative absence of violent political antagonisms made it a good town to be born in and a wholesome town to live in. It contained not more than five thousand inhabitants but the drug store was the rendezvous of all classes. It was in fact the social, political, and anecdotal clearing house of the town. The patronage of the grocery stores and dry goods stores was controlled in part by denominational lines, but everybody patronized the drug store. It was also a sort of physical confessional. The man who would expend only a few words in purchasing a ham or a hat would talk half an hour of his aches and ills or those of his family before buying twenty-five cents worth of pills or a ten-cent bottle of liniment. When the ham or the hat was paid for and taken away there was usually an end of it. Not so with the pills or the liniment. The patient usually came back to continue his personal or family history and to add a sketch of the character and conduct of the pills or liniment. All this was grist to O. Henry's mill.

No man, I think, without a training similar to O. Henry's would be likely to write such a story as "Makes the Whole World Kin." A burglar, you remember, has entered a house at night. "Hold up both your hands," he said. "Can't raise the other one," was the reply. "What's the matter with it?" "Rheumatism in the shoulder." "Inflammatory?" asked the burglar. "Was. The inflammation has gone down." "'Scuse me," said the burglar, "but it just socked me one, too." "How long have you had it?" inquired the citizen. "Four years." "Ever try rattlesnake oil?" asked the citizen. "Gallons. If all the snakes I've used the oil of was strung out in a row they'd reach eight times as far as Saturn, and the rattles could be heard at Valparaiso, Indiana, and back." In the end the burglar helps the citizen to dress and they go out together, the burglar standing treat.

The drawings that O. Henry used to make of the characters that frequented the drug store were not caricatures. There was usually, it is true, an over-emphasis put upon some one trait but this trait was the central trait, the over-emphasis serving only to interpret and reveal the character as a whole. Examining these sketches anew, when the characters themselves are thirty odd years older than they were then, one is struck with the resemblance still existing. In fact O. Henry's sketches reproduce the characters as they are today more faithfully than do the photographs taken at the same time. The photographs have been outgrown, but not the sketches; for the sketches caught the central and permanent, while the photographs made no distinction. In O. Henry's story called "A Madison Square Arabian Night" an artist, picked at random from the "free-bed line," is made to say: "Whenever I finished a picture people would come to see it, and whisper and look queerly at one another. I soon found out what the trouble was. I had a knack of bringing out in the face of a portrait the hidden character of the original. I don't know how I did it—I painted what I saw."

III.

In 1882, at the age of twenty, O. Henry moved from Greensboro to Texas. His life in Texas has been succinctly told in the pages of the *New York Bookman* and will be only summarized here. It may be that his health had something to do with his going to Texas, but far more significant were the accounts that used to come to us in Greensboro of the adventures of the Hall boys in Texas. O. Henry thrilled over these stories and made us thrill over them, but I never heard him mention his health and never thought of him as frail. One of the most memorable characters in Greensboro a generation ago was Dr. James K. Hall, a giant of a man, who, from habit if not from necessity, used to stoop whenever he entered an ordinary doorway. Dr. Hall had succeeded to the practice that had once been O. Henry's father's and was of course an habitué of Mr. Clark Porter's drug store. His two sons, Dick and Lee, were the first Greensboro men to hear and heed the call of Texas. They settled in LaSalle County and became noted Texas Rangers. O. Henry used to hold us breathless with the hair-breadth 'scapes of these two Carolinians whose parents lived quiet and honored lives among us but whose adventures along the Nueces and the Rio Grande made the romance of LaSalle and Webb counties seem to us a close second to "the glory that was Greece and the grandeur that was Rome." LaSalle County became our ideal borderland. We read Scott and Cooper but we thought of LaSalle County.

No one was surprised, therefore, when O. Henry slipped quietly

away and settled in LaSalle County with Dick and Lee Hall. His life on the ranch, his happy marriage in Austin, his experiences with "The Rolling Stone," his work on the *Houston Post,* his visits to New Orleans and Central America contributed enormously to widen his vision, to deepen and diversify his knowledge of life, and thus to make possible the inimitable work of later years. He learned in three months to speak Mexican Spanish like a native, his reading became more and more inclusive, his association with Mrs. Dick Hall served to relight the torch received from Miss Lina, his experiences in an Austin drug store and land office supplemented and enlarged the experiences gained in his uncle's store, and the six months in Honduras not only gave the material for "Cabbages and Kings," but contributed the necessary contrast and perspective to all that had gone before.

IV.

When O. Henry arrived in New York in 1902 his formative years had passed and his genuinely creative work was to begin. His preparation had been thorough, continuous, and peculiarly adapted to the work that he was to do. From Miss Lina's school to New York may justly be called his "In the Workshop" period; his eight years in New York were his "In the World" period. During these last eight years he published nearly all of the two hundred and fifty-two stories that now circulate in book form. His most prolific years were 1904 and 1905. In 1904 he published sixty-seven stories and in 1905 fifty-two. No other years of his life approximated such an output. When we consider not only the number of these stories but their range of theme, their variety of *locale,* their differences of mood and manner, their technical excellence, and their steadily increasing appeal in book form to the reading public, it becomes evident that a new chapter has been added to the annals of narrative genius in this country. When O. Henry began to write, there was a settled tradition that short stories which had already appeared in magazines or newspapers would not sell in book form. Today more than 1,100,000 O. Henry volumes have found purchasers, and each year marks an advance over the preceding year.

A new angle from which to appraise the distinction of O. Henry's work during these eight years is furnished by a questionnaire recently sent out to a select list of ten, composed of those who write stories, those who buy stories, and those who sell stories. Each of the ten was asked to name the ten stories of O. Henry that made the strongest personal appeal to him. The returns, published in the *New York Bookman* of June, 1914, show that sixty-two different stories were named. One risks nothing in saying that no other writer of short stories, living or

dead, would have had so long an approved list put to his credit. It may be mentioned also that since 1908 hardly a book has appeared on the American short story as a distinct literary type that does not make prominent the work of O. Henry. Some of these books are popular and superficial in treatment while others are studied and technical; but whether written for the high school pupil or the general reader or the college student, it is exceptional to find one that does not use some of O. Henry's stories as models.

V.

O. Henry's real achievement, however, is not to be measured in terms of his preparation or of his present vogue. It must be sought, of course, in the nature of his work itself. Most of those who have commented upon his work have singled out his technique, especially his unexpected endings, as his distinctive contribution to the American short story. "I cannot drop this topic," says Professor Walter B. Pitkin, author of "The Art and the Business of Story Writing," "without urging the student to study carefully the maturer stories of O. Henry, who surpasses all writers, past and present, in his mastery of the direct dénouement."

The unexpected ending, however, is not, even technically, the main point in the structural excellence of a short story. Skill here marks only the convergence and culmination of structural excellencies that have stamped the story from the beginning. The crack of the whip at the end is a mechanical feat as compared with the skillful manipulation that made it possible. Walter Pater speaks somewhere—and O. Henry's best stories are perfect illustrations—of "that architectural conception of the work which perceives the end in the beginning and never loses sight of it, and in every part is conscious of all the rest, till the last sentence does but, with undiminished vigor, unfold and justify the first." In fact it is not the surprise at the end that reveals the technical mastery of O. Henry or of Poe and De Maupassant. It is rather the instantly succeeding second surprise that there should have been a first surprise; it is the clash of the unexpected but inevitable.

It is not technique, however, that has given O. Henry his wide and widening vogue. It is rather that he has enlarged the area of the American short story by enriching and diversifying its social content. In his hands the short story has become the organ of a social consciousness more varied and multiform than it had ever expressed before. Old Sir John Davies once said of the soul that it was

> Much like a subtle spider which doth sit
> In middle of her web, which spreadeth wide;
> If aught do touch the utmost thread of it,
> She feels it instantly on every side.

So was O. Henry. Whether in North Carolina or Texas or New York an instant responsiveness to the humor or the pathos or the mere human interest of men and women playing their part in the drama of life, was always his distinguishing characteristic. It was not merely that he observed closely. Beneath the power to observe and the skill to reproduce lay a passionate interest in social phenomena which with him no other interest ever equaled or ever threatened to replace.

Man in solitude made little appeal to O. Henry, though he had seen much of solitude himself. But man in society, his "humors" in the old sense, his whims and vagaries, his tragedies and comedies and tragicomedies, his conflicts with individual and institutional forces, his complex motives, the good underlying the evil, the ideal lurking potent but unsuspected within,—whatever entered as an essential factor into the social life of men and women wrought a sort of spell upon O. Henry and found increasing expression in his art. It was not startling plots that he sought: it was human nature themes, themes beckoning to him from the life about him but not yet wrought into short story form. Thus the short story received at his hands a new sensitiveness, a new plasticity. It began to mirror aspects and areas of society unadmitted before.

In "An Unfinished Story" it enters the lists of social service in behalf of the under-paid and under-appreciated. Some one has said that Dickens' "Christmas Carol" has done more good than any story ever written. As the years go by will not the "Christmas Carol" be overtaken by "An Unfinished Story?" It was not hunger, it was not the need of the so-called necessities that wrecked Dulcie's life. The cause lay deeper than that; it belonged not to the eternal-human but to the eternal-womanly. It was neither food nor clothing; it was the natural love of adornment. Dulcie received $6 a week. The necessities amounted to $4.76. "I hold my pen poised in vain," says O. Henry, "when I would add to Dulcie's life some of those joys that belong to woman by virtue of all the unwritten, sacred, natural, inactive ordinances of the equity of heaven." In "A Municipal Report" O. Henry makes the short story enter the lists as an antagonist of the theory that New York, New Orleans, and San Francisco are the only "story cities" in the United States. "Dear cousins all (from Adam and Eve descended)," says the author in his philosophical overture to the story, "it is a rash one who will lay his finger on the map and say, 'In this town there can be no romance.'"

In "The Gift of the Magi" the philosophical paragraph comes last. It explains how the story came to be so named and throws a new light on an incident as old as Christianity. The gift of gold, frankincense,

and myrrh made by the magi to the infant Christ was a gift utterly without utility. What could the infant Jesus do with these things? But the pure love that prompted the gift shines all the brighter because the gift itself, humanly speaking, was an egregious misfit. Every parent or teacher who has received Christmas gifts from little children recognizes that O. Henry has here enriched a Bible incident not by formal comment but by a very modern Christmas story.

In "The Lickpenny Lover" we have a brilliant variation on a theme familiar to every one who has ever thought at all on "language as social custom." There are thousands of working girls in New York whose world is bounded by Coney Island. From some such commonplace of daily speech O. Henry took his cue. Masie, a shop girl, is courted by Irving Carter, painter, millionaire, traveler, poet, automobilist. He had fallen in love at first sight. "Marry me, Masie," he whispered, "and we will go away from this ugly city to beautiful ones. I know where I should take you," and he launched into a moving description of palaces, towers, gondolas, India and her ancient cities, Hindoos, Japanese gardens,—but Masie had risen to her feet. The next morning she scornfully remarked to her chum Lu: "What do you think that fellow wanted me to do? He wanted me to marry him and go down to Coney Island for a wedding tour." So the Hostess in "Henry V" thought that the dying Falstaff only "babbled of green fields" but he was repeating or trying to repeat the Twenty-third Psalm. Words meant to Masie and to the poor Hostess only what their experience would let them mean; and words mean to you and me only what our experience will let them mean. The pathos as well as the humor of speech as a social instrument is that the appeal of every word is measured not by its formal definition but by the hearer's orbit of experience and association. Are we not all Masies more or less when we read Dante or Shakespeare or Goethe? Do not opportunities call in vain because our little personal orbits will not let us see them as opportunities or hear them as challenges? For my part I can never read the Gospel of John with its talk of "life," "light," "truth," being "born again," "meat to eat ye know not of," with the pathetic misunderstandings that run plaintively and questioningly through it all, without thinking of this strangely suggestive story. The tragedy of the circumscribed life is not that it mistakes the imitation world for the real world but that the imitation world is its all.

Or take the powerful presentation of the law of habit made in "The Pendulum," ending with "Thought I'd drop up to McCloskey's and play a game or two of pool with the fellows,"—words apparently as empty of significance as any that could be spoken but charged here

with a subtle and cumulative fatefulness; or that luminous exposition of self-culture through the vocation which O. Henry calls "The Trimmed Lamp." Read again and note the universality but not commonplaceness of "Transients in Arcadia," in which "the tables are turned on Haroun al Raschid"; or, greatest of all, "The Furnished Room," in which transiency is differently motived,—a story which recalls Poe and Hawthorne at their highest, and the last part of which is as creepily powerful as the second witch scene in "Macbeth."

O. Henry, then, as I see it, has given the American short story a new reach and a widened social content. It is too soon to attempt to assign him a comparative rank among his predecessors. We may attempt, however, to place him if not to weigh him. It was Washington Irving who first gave the American short story a standing at home and abroad. There is a calm upon Irving's pages, an easy quiet grace in his sentences, an absence of restlessness and hurry, that give him an unquestioned primacy among our masters of an elder day. He was more meditative and less intellectual than Scott but, like Scott, he was essentially retrospective. He used the short story to rescue and relaunch the small craft of legend and tradition which had already upon their sails the rime of eld. He legendized the short story.

Poe's genius was first and last constructive. It was the build of the short story rather than its historical or intellectual content that gripped his interest. Poe's art, unlike that of Irving, is identified with no particular time or place. He was always stronger on moods than on tenses, and his geography curtsied more to sound than to Mercator or Maury. But in the mathematics of the short story, in the art of making it converge definitely and triumphantly to a preordained end, in the mastery of all that is connoted by the word technique, Poe's is the greatest name. The short story came from his hands a new art form, not charged with a new content but effectively equipped for a new service. In form, at least, Poe standardized the short story.

Hawthorne made the short story a vehicle of symbolism. Time and place were only starting points with him. He saw double, and the short story was made to see double, too. Puritan New England, New England of the past, was his *locale;* but his theme was spiritual truth, a theme that has always had an affinity for symbols and symbolism. Hawthorne allegorized the short story.

With Bret Harte the short story entered a new era. He was the first of our short story writers to preëmpt a definite and narrowly circumscribed time and place and to lift both into literature. Dialect became for the first time an effective ally of the American short story, and local color was raised to an art. Though Bret Harte's appeal is not and has

never been confined to any one section of the country, it is none the less true that he first successfully localized the American short story.

A glance through O. Henry's pages shows that his familiarity with the different sections of the United States was greater than that of any predecessor named. He had lived in every part of the country that may be called distinctive except New England, but he has not preëmpted any locality. His stories take place in Central America, in the South, in the West, and in the North. He always protested against having his stories interpreted as mere studies in localism. There was not one of his New York stories, he said, in which the place was essential to the underlying truth or to the human interest back of it. Nor was his technique distinctive. It is essentially the technique of Poe which became later the technique of De Maupassant but was modified by O. Henry to meet new needs and to subserve diverse purposes. The keynote of O. Henry's work, his distinctive contribution to the American short story, is found in the words with which he prefaced "The Four Million": "Not very long ago some one invented the assertion that there were only 'Four Hundred' people in New York City who were really worth noticing. But a wiser man has arisen—the census taker—and his larger estimate of human interest has been preferred in marking out the field of these little stories of the 'Four Million.'" O. Henry has socialized the short story.

Presentation of the O. Henry Memorial to the State

By President Archibald Henderson.

I stand here tonight, before the shrine of our literary and historic genius, to offer to the State of North Carolina the perfect tribute of art in token of the love and admiration of a people. As instrument in assuring this memorial, acting under the auspices of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina, I take pleasure also in presenting this Memorial Volume—a history of the efforts to secure this memorial and of the success that has finally crowned those efforts. I feel it an ample reward for all the difficulties and the toil involved that we are enabled to see placed upon the wall of this great building a memorial tablet and medallion executed by so great an artist as Lorado Taft. It is both a pleasure and an honor to present tonight this memorial—of "O. Henry," literary genius, of William Sidney Porter, man—in behalf of the people of North Carolina and of admirers from all parts of the United States, who have united with us to make this dream a reality.

This ancient commonwealth, which has given to the nation and the world such great figures in the Presidency as Andrew Jackson, Andrew Johnson, and James K. Polk; in military genius as Pettigrew and Hoke; in statesmanship as Samuel Johnston, Nathaniel Macon, Thomas Hart Benton, William A. Graham, George Davis, and Zebulon Baird Vance; in law as Iredell and Ruffin; in oratory as Hooper and Gaston—this ancient commonwealth here dedicates to posterity the name of a great literary genius, the greatest American short-story writer of our day, "O. Henry." We glory in the thought that North Carolina, this home of democracy, this cradle of American liberty, should have produced, as the greatest man of letters in her history, a true democrat with an abiding love of human liberty—a national American to the heart's core, instinct with the spirit of fair play and inspired with love for his fellow-man; a true son of the South, buoyant in nature, richly imbued with the larger human sentiment, and joyous with the spirit of the new romance. "In every human heart," he once said, in words permanently eloquent of his faith, "there is an innate tendency towards respectable life, and even those who have fallen to the lowest step of the social ladder would, if they could, get back to the higher life. The innate propensity of human nature is to choose the good instead of the bad."

I offer this tribute to that lovable figure enshrined in the hearts of

millions under the name of "O. Henry," who lived to the full his halcyon day, from the morn of laughter to the night of tears, and out of the richness and variety of this wholly human life bequeathed to the world a literary legacy so compact of original genius, of marvelous technic, of rich humor, of shrewd philosophy, and of loving tenderness, that for its high art and sheer humanity it shall endure—as long as American literature itself shall endure. Upon this tablet, here given to the State by an admiring people, stand inscribed his own words from one of the short-stories which made him great—words which for all time epitomize his life and immortalize his fame:

He no longer saw a rabble, but his brothers seeking the ideal.

Acceptance of the O. Henry Memorial

By Governor Locke Craig.

We have listened with interest to the appreciation of O. Henry by two of the most cultured men of the South. They have given you an estimate of his literary work. The State welcomes this memorial to her gifted son. He was a brother full of sympathy, pathos and sunshine. He enlivened our ordinary experiences with the touch of his genius. Each of his productions is radiant, molded in simplicity and beauty, pulsing with the blood of life. He left us a precious legacy, for in the gloomy hours of care and toil he brings a message pure and joyous, full of laughter and tears. What Carlyle said of Robert Burns can be said of O. Henry too:

> While the Shakespeares and Miltons roll on like mighty rivers through the country of thought, bearing fleets of traffickers and assiduous pearl-fishers on their waves; this little Valclusa Fountain will also arrest our eye; for this also is of nature's own and most cunning workmanship, bursts from the depths of the earth, with a full gushing current, into the light of day; and often will the traveler turn aside to drink of its clear waters, and muse among its rocks and pines.

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Schenck, Miss Mary A.....Raleigh
Shaw, Miss Cornelia.....Davidson
Shepherd, S. Brown.....Raleigh
Sherrill, Capt. M. O.....Raleigh
Sherwood, Mrs. M. B.....Raleigh
Shipp, Mrs. M. B.....Raleigh
Simpson, John A.....Raleigh
Skinner, Col. Harry.....Greenville
Sledd, Dr. B. F.....Wake Forest
Small, Hon. Jno. H.....Washington
Smith, Dr. C. Alphonso.....University, Va.
Smith, Dr. Chas. Lee.....Raleigh
Smith, Ed. Chambers.....Raleigh
Smith, Mrs. Ed. Chambers.....Raleigh
Smith, L. L.....Gatesville
Smith, Miss Mary Shannon.....Raleigh
Smith, Maj. W. A.....Ansonville
Sousley, Miss Gertrude.....Greensboro
Southgate, J. H.....Durham
Speight, R. H.....Whitakers
Spence, H. E.....Durham
Spencer, Mrs. W. O.....Winston-Salem
Sprunt, James .....Wilmington
Stanback, J. F.....Raleigh
Stanback, Mrs. J. F.....Raleigh
Stephens, George .....Charlotte
Stephenson, Miss Florence.....Asheville
Stern, David .....Greensboro
Stevens, C. L.....Southport
Stevens, Mrs. C. L.....Southport
Stevens, Mrs. F. L.....Urbana, Ill.
Stone, W. E.....Raleigh
Summey, George Jr.....Raleigh
Swindell, Mrs. E. E.....Raleigh
Teague, Mrs. R. J.....Roxboro
Terrell, Mrs. M. B.....Raleigh
Thompson, Miss Irene L.....Mt. Airy
Thompson, D. Matt.....Statesville
Thornton, M. E.....Hickory
Thrash, Mrs. Jacksie D.....Tarboro
Timberlake, Julian .....Raleigh
Toepleman, F. C.....Henderson
Tuesday Afternoon Reading Club.....Reidsville
Turner, Mrs. M. G.....Raleigh
Turner, Mrs. V. E.....Raleigh

Upchurch, Miss Margaret Lee.....Lawrenceville, Va.

Van Landingham, Mrs. John.....Charlotte
Vann, Miss Mary H.....Raleigh
Vann, Rev. R. T.....Raleigh
Van Noppen, C. L.....Greensboro

Vass, W. W.....Raleigh
Vass, Mrs. W. W.....Raleigh

Wachovia Historical Society.....Winston-Salem
Waitt, Miss Daisy B.....Greenville
Walker, Hon. Platt D.....Raleigh
Waller, Dr. Calvin B.....Asheville
Walser, Zeb V.....Lexington
Ward, D. L.....New Bern
Ward, Miss Jane.....Raleigh
Watts, George W.....Durham
Weill, Miss Gertrude.....Goldsboro
White, Miss Julia S.....Guilford College
Whitehead, Mrs. E. L.....Enfield
Willard, M. C.....Wilmington
Williams, R. R.....Asheville
Williams, S. E.....Lexington
Williamson, Wm. H.....Raleigh
Williamson, Mrs. Wm. H.....Raleigh
Wills, J. Norman.....Greensboro
Wilson, H. V.....Chapel Hill
Wilson, Dr. Louis R.....Chapel Hill
Winfree, Mrs. J. M.....Raleigh
Winston, Hon. Francis D.....Windsor
Winston, Hon. George T.....Asheville
Winston, Hon. R. W.....Raleigh
Wisler, J. H.....Moncure
Withers, W. A.....Raleigh
Wood, Frank .....Edenton
Wood, J. G.....Edenton
Wood, W. P.....Raleigh
Wright, Robt. H.....Greenville

Young, Miss Ella.....Charlotte
Young, Hon. J. R.....Raleigh
Young, Miss S. E.....Raleigh